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ABSTRACT

A sample packet on the Pawnee experience, developed for use by junior high teachers, includes a reading list and materials for teachers and students. Sections on Pawnee origins, history, religion and world view, tribal structure and kinship, and economic system before and after relocation from Nebraska to Oklahoma include objectives, lists of materials needed, exercises for students, and essays accompanied by questions to ponder. For instance, the section on Pawnee origins has the following objectives: (1) introducing students to Pawnee accounts of their origins and encounters with Europeans, and to the notion that different people interpret history differently, according to their values and history; and (2) showing students that the meaning of history depends in part on the symbolism people carry into a historical event. The section lists four necessary items (three are in the document), and gives three procedures for student exercises. Text of the section, "Perspectives in History," contains the Pawnee's own origin story, comment on archaeological support for the Pawnee account, two Anglo versions and a Pawnee version of the Pawnee encounter with Zebulon Pike's expedition, and an exercise with five questions for students. Other sections are similarly structured. (MH)

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THE PAWNEE EXPERIENCE: FROM CENTER VILLAGE TO OKLAHOMA

(Junior High Unit)

This sample packet was developed at the Nebraska Curriculum Institute on Native American Life sponsored by the University of Nebraska-Lincoln Center for Great Plains Studies and funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities during the summer of 1978. Chief preparer of this unit was Chris Solberg. The unit was edited by Erwin Goldenstein.

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THE PAWNEE EXPERIENCE: FROM CENTER VILLAGE TO OKLAHOMA

1. The Pawnee Version of Their Early History
2. Origin and Migration As Viewed by Europeans
3. Religion and World View.
4. Tribal Structure and Kinship
5. Economics

The Pawnee are often treated as the archetypal Nebraska or Plains tribe. They are so treated by James Fennimore Cooper and consequently, in stereotypical terms, they have also come to be the archetypal Plains "good Indian" whereas the Sioux have become, in most white racist fiction, the archetypal "bad Indian." The fact of stereotyping has often led to an ignoring of the complexity and beauty of Pawnee culture and history. The Pawnee themselves see themselves as always having lived in Nebraska, and archeological evidence is increasingly showing that "Pawnee" or "Pawnee-like" people have lived in the Plains "Platte-Republican-Smoky Hill" area for a very long time. In more recent times, the Pawnee were moved to Genoa, Nebraska and then to Oklahoma, and endured or created massive cultural changes. This unit is dedicated to their history. Anyone teaching this unit should prepare himself/herself by viewing the whole of the Garland Blaine videotape and reading George Hyde's The Pawnee, Gene Weltfish's Lost Universe, and Francis Haines, The Plains Indians.

Books Referred to in the Unit

(The teacher may wish to have the whole book for reference.)

1. Gene Weltfish, The Lost Universe (New York: Basic Books, 1965). Every teacher should try to read this book.
2. George E. Hyde, Pawnee Indians (Denver: University of Denver Press, 1951). Should be read.
3. Francis Haines, The Plains Indians (New York: Crowell, 1976).
4. George A. Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee (New York: Smithsonian, 1904). Pawnee literature.
5. George B. Grinnell, Two Great Scouts and their Pawnee Battalion (Lincoln: University of Nebr. Press, 1973).
6. Robert Bruce, The Fighting Norths and Pawnee Scouts (New York: n.p., 1932).
7. Alexander Lesser, The Pawnee Ghost Dance and Hand Game (New York: Columbia, 1933).
8. George B. Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales (Lincoln, NE.: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1961).
9. Bayard H. Paine, Pioneers, Indians and Buffaloes (Curtis: Curtis Enterprise, 1935).

Objectives:

1. To introduce the students to Pawnee accounts of their origins and encounters with the Spanish;
2. To introduce students to the notion that different people see or interpret history differently in relation to their different senses of pride, values, and of history's meaning.
3. To show students that what history means in part depends on the symbolism or iconography that people carry into a historical event.

Materials: (included in printed unit or videotape)

1. The story of the origin of the Pawnee in Nebraska.
2. Sibley's account of the Zebulon Pike contact with the Pawnee.
3. Blaine's account of the Zebulon Pike contact with the Pawnee.
4. Videotape of Garland Blaine's account.

Procedures:

1. Have students read the "Closed Man" story of the origin of the Pawnee. Ask them to keep it in mind throughout the unit to try to discover why the Pawnee would attach importance to their "longevity" in this place (Nebraska, the Great Plains), and why whites might want to see the Pawnee as relatively recent immigrants.
2. Have the students read the two Pike stories and do the exercise attached to them.
3. Ask students during the rest of the units on the Pawnee, Winnebago, Sioux, and Omaha to bring in examples of history from an "Indian" or "Anglo" point of view and to look at what difference "point of view" makes. The students may also wish to do this with newstories on media events such as "cowboy movies" or "Little Big Man" type movies.

Student Sheet

SECTION I. STUDENT MATERIAL

Perspectives in History

We do not really know where the Pawnee come from. The Pawnee's own story places them in the Plains at places called Center Village, Old Village, and the Village of the Four Directions from the very beginning of time, when one of the early descendents of first man and first woman began to find other people and to live in community. The story of these first communities is set in Nebraska and goes as follows:*

> The people now increased, so that a man went far out into the country to hunt game. This man, while hunting, met another man. They talked together, and they found out that they could understand one another. Now the man went, and reported to the chief or Closed-Man that there were other people in the earth. This hunter told Closed-Man that he had met another man who could understand their language, and Closed-Man told the hunter that he always had understood that there were other people in the world. At one time Bright-Star came to Closed-Man again, in a vision, and told him that the people that had been created by the other gods were now numerous.** These other gods, when they had created these people, had also given them bundles. So these people had the bundles, but the ceremony they did not know.
>
> So Bright-Star told this man to get the people together, and that a man would be sent to them, who would teach them the different ceremonies of the different bundles. Bright-Star then said to the man: 'Each of these bundles contains a different kind of corn, given by the gods. The Southwest people have the white corn; the Northwest people have the yellow corn; the Northeast people have the black corn; the Southeast people have the red corn.' (At this time Closed-Man and his people were upon the Platte River.) When this was told him he journeyed towards the north, crossing the Loup River. They made their village on Beaver Creek. Here they selected a

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*George A. Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee (N.Y.: Houghton, Mifflin, 1904), pp. 10-13.

**Bright Star: The yellow or evening star.

place where the people were to get together, each set of people to receive their ceremony from this unknown man, who was to teach them these ceremonies.

Closed-Man now sent the errand man to invite the neighboring people to come and receive their ceremonies. The errand man went to the west. He found a village of four large-sized lodges--one built in the northwest of the village, one in the northeast, one in the southwest, and one in the southeast. This man went to these lodges and invited them to come. One of these men said: 'We will come, for we were told by our god that a certain man was to gather the people together, who would become chief of the tribes.' The errand man went north and found some more people. He knew them. They said they would come. The errand man kept on finding people here and there, and he invited them. At last he came to the Elk Horn River, and here the medicine-men were having their performance. They refused to take part in the ceremonies, for they said that their god had given them certain powers, so that they could hold their ceremonies themselves. The errand man went east and found another people, who were living in earth lodges, the entrance of which faced west. They had a man who could call the buffalo. The man found that these people had been slaughtering buffalo, and the buffalo were killed upon the ice. The coyotes and the wolves stood upon the ice in the water eating the carcasses of the buffalo. As the coyotes and wolves stood eating these carcasses, when night-time came, they were fast in the waters, which had frozen, so that they stood in the water all night. So the people called themselves Skirirara (Wolves-Standing-in-Water). These people also had a bundle that had a wolf skull on it. So this bundle was known as Paxskawahar (Head-Ready-to-Give). Their ceremony they knew, so that they did not go. The errand man went south and invited the southern people. Then he went on around the southwest, and invited all the people that he found.

The day came when these people were to come, and great clouds of dust were seen rising up in different directions, for the people were now coming to the centre village, where the ceremony was to be held. When the people got together, the Yellow-Calf bundle was not to be used in this ceremony, but another bundle was to be used. A man came forward, who told the chief, Closed-Man, that Bright-Star had come to him in a vision and that he had learned the different ceremonies and songs belonging to the bundles; that the Yellow-Calf bundle was not to be used or to have anything to do with the ceremony; that it should only be hung up on a tree. So now, really, Mother Bright-Star told this man that now they were to hold a ceremony in imitation of Tirawa, when he first made up his mind to make earth, people, and animals to live on the earth; that the gods who sat in council with him had been given certain stations in the heavens; that each of these bundles was to be dedicated to those certain gods, stars in the heavens; and that in this ceremony they were to have the same relative positions as the gods in the heavens, who had given them the bundles. The people made their camp around the circle where the ceremony was to be had, according to their stations--northwest of the bundle, southwest of the bundle, etc. A day was set for the people of the four world quarter gods to go into the timber to bring up their poles. They brought them with great rejoicing, singing, shouting, and they placed the poles upon the ground where it had been cleared for the purpose of holding the ceremony. The northeast pole was painted black; the northwest pole was painted yellow; the southwest pole was painted white; the southeast pole was painted red. Each of these Four-Direction people had their ceremonies, erected their own pole, and they shouted and rejoiced at the time. The bundles were all brought in. A day was set when the priests caused the errand man to bring the water from the running stream and place it in the north of the lodge. The priest went up, dancing around the pole, and made several movements over the bowl of water, to teach the people how the gods had struck the water when the land was divided from the waters. At this ceremony were five animals' skins at the northeast of the entrance of the lodge. They were the otter, the bear, the mountain lion, the wildcat, and the coyote. In the evening certain young men crawled into these skins. The went around the circle, scaring the people. . . .

When the village which contained the four bundles came from the west, they put their village to the north of the village of Closed-Man. The bundle which contained the yellow calf-skin wrapper had been hung up by itself for it had nothing to do with the ceremony which was about to be performed. When the priest arrived he stood up in the circle and said: 'We are about to have a certain ceremony. This bundle (pointing to the bundle) which is to bear the skull of Closed-Man is to take the lead.' Closed-Man now held his hand toward the priest, thus expressing the thanks of the Bright-Star for the ceremony; for now he saw that though he was chief of all the tribes, the new ceremony was in the hands of the priest.

The people of the different villages had now arrived, except the two which had refused to participate in the ceremony. In the centre was the village Turikaku

> (Centre-Village). In this village was the Aripahut or Yellow-Calf bundle. West of this, in four groups, were the villages of the bands which owned the four direction bundles. Each of these four groups contained a bundle, and the village bore the name of the bundle; in one was Atiratatariwata (Mother-Born-Again); in another was Skauwahakitawiu (Leading-Woman-Ready-to-Give); in another was Liwidutchok (Round-on-Top); in another was Akarakata (Yellow-Tipi); in the southwest direction was the village Tuhkitskita (Village-on-Creek); in the west, and between the first and the Four-Direction villages was Tuwhahukasa (Village-Standing-over-Hill), which contained the Morning-Star bundle; in the east was Tuhitspiat (Village-in-Bottom); in the northwest direction was Tohochuk (Village-in Ravine); also in the northwest was the village of Turawiu (Half-on-Hill-Village); in the west was Akapaxsawa (Skulls-Painted-on-Tipi); in the southeast was Tcaihixparuxti (Wonderful-Man), in which was the Skull bundle; in the northwest was Arikararikuts (Big-Elks); also in the northeast was the village of Arikaraikis (Standing-Elks); in the north was the village of Haricahahakata (Red-Calf), where was the bundle of the North-Star; in the northeast direction was the village of Stiskaatit (Black-Corn-Woman).

The places named can be located on maps, and archeologists have found Pawnee villages at most of the locations.

The second section of the unit will permit you to look at what academic archeologists have believed as to Pawnee migrations into the Plains.

More recently, a third belief based on new archeology and other data has suggested a very long presence of the Pawnee or Pawnee-like people in the Plains with perhaps occasional out-migrations in times of drouth (even as many people of all groups left the Plains in the 1930's drough). Whatever the truth may be as to Pawnee presence or migration in the Plains and specifically Nebraska, the different interpretations of their life duration here should suggest one thing: namely, that what history is told partly depends on who tells it. For instance, U. S. and Nebraska history usually begin with European groups and their colonization of the "New World" and "the Plains." But Indian--Pawnee, Cheyenne, Sioux, and Omaha--histories of the Plains begin with people of those groups coming to the Plains in earlier times or always living here. White European settlers are a very late and peripheral phenomenon in the Indian histories.

Student Sheet

Again, the European accounts of settlement of the Plains usually start with Coronado's march into Kansas or Nebraska in search of the kingdom of Quivera--a group of "Golden Villages." The historians now generally agree that what Coronado was seeking in the 1540s were Pawnee villages or villages of their cousins the Wichita or other closely related people. Pawnee-European contact begins with the Spanish. It appears that the Pawnee had contact with Europeans in the early 18th century as well as possibly in the sixteenth. Usually it is believed that the Pawnee had pledged loyalty to the Spanish by the early 1800s and that they then were so awestruck by the courage of Zebulon Pike in 1806 and his crew in venturing on the Plains in a small group that they pledged loyalty to the United States. A representative conventional Anglo account reads as follows:*

> Not very long after the visit to the Pawnees by Lieutenant Malgares [of the Spanish], Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike reached the Pawnee village and held a grand council with the Pawnees. Pike told them in substance that they were under the government of the United States and not under that of Spain, and demanded that the Spanish flag, which hung at the door of the Pawnee chief, should be taken down and delivered to him and that the flag of the United States should be received and hoisted to its place. Pike recognized that this demand was rather daring. It was only a short time since a force of at least three hundred Spanish cavalrymen had been at the village, greatly impressing the Indians by their display, while Pike himself had but about twenty men on foot. The Pawnee chief in his response to Pike made no allusion to his demand for the flag. Pike then repeated what he had said, adding, 'that it was impossible for a nation to have two Fathers; that they must either be the children of the Spaniards, or acknowledge their American Father.' After he had finished speaking there was still hesitancy, but at last an old man took down the Spanish flag and delivered it to Pike who gave him the American flag which was then hoisted.
>
> Nevertheless, the Pawnees doubtful, and perhaps fearful of what might be done to them by the Spaniards, if they should return, were downcast and sorrowful. Pike tactfully soothed their fears by returning to them the Spanish flag with the understanding that during Pike's stay it should not again be hoisted. This gave great satisfaction to the Pawnees.

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*George B. Grinnell, Two Great Scouts and Their Pawnee Battalion (Lincoln, NE.: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), pp. 42-6.

Student Sheet

In Major Sibley's diary, written in the year 1811, is found a note on Pike's visit to the Pawnees. This has a peculiar interest because it gives certain details about the visit, which purport to come from the Pawnees themselves. These details seem to explain statements made by Pike, on which he does not enlarge. Any one who is familiar with Indians and with the way in which they look at things can readily understand the point of view of the Pawnee chief whose acts are described. Except honesty, there is nothing that the primitive Indian respects so much as he respects courage and for this reason it is not surprising that the Pawnee chief acted as he did. He seemed too to be impressed by the difference between the mental attitude of Pike and his men and that of the Spanish expedition which had been sent north to punish the Skidi, but was easily persuaded not to attack them. Writing generally of the Pawnees, Major Sibley says:

> They sometimes push their predatory excursions to the Spanish settlements of New Mexico. The Loups or Ske-nees (Skidi Pawnee) committed such serious depredations there a few years ago, as induced the Governor of that province to send a strong detachment of mounted militia to their town to chastise them or, as the old Chief told me, "to kill them all." The commander of this detachment consulted Cher-a-ta-reesh on his arrival at the Republican town, and was by him (so he told me) persuaded to spare the Skidi Pawnee, which I presume the old warrior found it easy enough to do. In a few days after this Spanish Rabble had left the Pawnees, Lieutenant Z. M. Pike arrived there with his exploring party of about twenty-five men including Lieutenant Wilkinson (son of General Wilkinson) and Dr. John A. Robinson. Lieutenant Pike stayed several days, recruiting his party, purchasing horses and was treated kindly. When he announced his intention of pursuing his journey towards the Spanish settlements, the old Chief promptly objected and said he had promised the Spanish officer who had just been there to prevent any American party from passing through his country towards New Mexico, and that he must redeem his promise. Pike replied that his Chief had ordered him to go; go he would or die in the attempt.
>
> "Why," said Cher-a-ta-reesh, "you have only twenty-five warriors here, and I can command a thousand and have them here in less than half a day; how then can you go if I forbid it? You are a brave young warrior, and your men are all braves also, but what can so few do? I respect you, I love

you, I love you as my own son. I love brave men. Do not oblige me to hurt you; you must not pass." Still Pike persisted and having all things ready, solemnly announced to the chief that on the following morning he should pursue his journey to the Mexican mountains, at the same time thanking him for his hospitality. The morning came and the rising sun found Pike with his men all mounted, well armed and equipped, their broad swords drawn.

The old warrior Chief had summoned his forces also, and there they stood (more than 500 in number) armed with bows and arrows, spears and tomahawk in gloomy silence, each party waiting the order of their Chief.

Cher-a-ta-reesh, unarmed and on foot, approached closer to the side of Pike and with much emotion urged him to desist, but in vain; pointing to the sun and to a small speck in the sky just above, "Brave Chief," said he [Pike] "When the sun reaches yon point in his daily journey, I shall surely set out upon mine. I will start, I and my brave comrades here and nothing but death can stop us; it is my duty, as I have told you. If you think it yours to obey the Spaniard and to stop me, be it so, but the attempt will cost the lives of some brave men, that you may be sure of."

Not two minutes remained, the Chief stood in thoughtful silence whilst Pike addressed his own men, all was ready, the soldiers were bracing themselves firmly in their saddles, the Indian warriors had strung their bows and some had fixed their arrows (more sure and deadly than bullets). Pike's hand grasped his sword hilt, yet in its scabbard (it being drawn was the appointed signal for the onset, for his whole party was surrounded by Pawnees).

"What a moment!" In a few minutes, perhaps a hundred brave men would bite the dust. One word from the Pawnee Chief was only wanting to prevent this waste of human life. The humanity of the good old Chief prevailed. He ordered his people to open the way, to put up their weapons and let the little band pass freely and go unmolested in whatever direction their Chief chose to lead them, then turning to Pike, he said, "Brave young Chief, you are free to pursue your journey; were I now to stop you by destroying you, the only way I am convinced

> that it can be done, I should forever after feel myself a coward. But Cher-a-ta-reesh is no coward, no man alive dare call me so, but the brave love those who are brave. The Spanish Chief with more than 500 men seemed afraid to strike the Ske-nees though they had robbed them. I only whispered in his ear a few words and he went home again as he came. If he wishes to stop you he may do it himself, Cher-a-ta-reesh will no longer interfere."
>
> After some friendly adieus, Pike and his men set forward in order at a brisk gait and soon left the Pawnees out of sight but not out of mind, for they loved to speak of the brave Americans.
>
> I have given you these incidents just as they were related to me by the Great Pawnee Chief. He further told me as in connection, that during Pike's stay in his village he had surrendered to him at his request all his Spanish medals and flags, upon his promise that they would be replaced by others from his great American father, but he had not yet seen or heard anything about them. He feared they were forgotten. All this conversation about Pike, you must understand, took place the morning after I reached the Pawnees.

However, the Pawnee comment on their own tradition as to why they behaved as they did towards Pike; one of those traditions told to Garland Blaine, a Pawnee who is a historian and religious leader of his people, by his ancestors goes as follows:

> Well, the first white people that the Pawnee have any account of are these: where they saw the horse and the Spanish people. Now, I do not know how far back that was, but they had contact with the Spanish and we have a story where they fought the Spanish. Okay. They fought the Spanish and they conquered the Spanish and they took his flag. And they, on occasions, would put it up so that other people could see it. Now when . . . and then when they fought the Spanish, they took the Spanish armor, chain, or whatever it was, and they took rocks and broke it up into small bits. These small bits they ran leather thongs thru and put them around their dogs' necks. So far, the way we see it, this was the great degrading of their safety device here, you know. So, when Pike found the Pawnees in 1806, well, he saw the Spanish flag. They put it up because he was a dignitary; and Pike talked to them. Now, what I am going to say is

not in books, but I've heard this, not from one person. This is the consensus of the Pawnees. This is about the way it is told. Pike came to make a treaty, and he came with his man and they met. So they made a day to talk. So they sent runners to all the tribes, all the bands, and they came; and they met with Pike. And they had the Spanish flag up, you know. And Pike said, 'Well, I see you are under Spain. So this Pawnee chief says, "No, the man that owned that, he's not . . . I am not under him. This is my land. I go out here and hunt. Anyone comes here, I protect myself. I got my own bows and arrows. I got my spoon.' Pike said, 'The way we see it, if we put the flag we got up there is the one that we have allegiance to.' This old Indian says, this old chief says, 'Well, the reason why I have that up there is that anybody comes here, they know that the man has been there and they know that I conquered him. This is what this badge of his . . .this possession of his, took from him and I got here and someone comes here like you, I show it.' So, they wanted to make a treaty. Well, the Pawnee chief just felt like, you know, that he didn't need a treaty. So Pike says, 'Well, now, I would like to leave a flag here, but I don't want you to put it up like this. I want to leave a flag here with this. I want to ask you, if I leave a flag here, and when people like me come here, or anybody else, I would like for you to fly it somewhere where it means that you and I are friends and that you will not try to be aggressive to people like me.' So, this chief says, 'Well, you've been here and you see me. You don't see me jumping on a horse and running over here trying to make a war on anybody, even though you've been here just a few days. But, look at all my children and women running around here; they are all at peace. This is the way we are. We never go fight. We protect ourselves, true; but we never fight.' And Pike said, 'Well, can I leave you my flag?' He said, 'Yes.' So when they unrolled it, the Indian was . . . he just stood there. He couldn't believe it. The red and white and blue are very profound colors, religiously to us. The stars . . . to us, that is heaven.* So, when he saw that, well, he just didn't have an alternative. Because this, because of this, because of their religious significance, he accepted it, and with this intent he accepted it. He said that he was ready to go and take a treaty, because you know, the way he was thinking, well, maybe God sent these people; you know, you'll read where Pike, with a

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*Red and white and blue (on black) are the colors of southeast, southwest, and northeast; if the flag was fringed, it contained yellow also, the color of the northwest. The significance of the stars to the Pawnee appears in the Closed-Man story.

> handful of men came into a village where there may have been 5,000 fighting men. No one with a few dozen men, 3 or 4 or whatever it was, is going to tell anyone with overwhelming numbers to take down that flag and put his up. This is what that implies down there at the site. That is very erroneous--the way that is all written down there, according to what the old people say.

EXERCISE:

The two versions differ widely. One says that the Pawnee had pledged loyalty to the Spanish; the other says that they had hung their trophies "in the most disreputable place they could find." One says they were awed by the U. S. soldiers' courage and so took the U. S. flag. The other says that they saw the U. S. flag as displaying their own sacred colors and so accepted it. Who is right? Are both accounts perhaps right? Let us look at the "Why" of each account and the understanding and misunderstandings in each.

1. Why does the Anglo (Sibley) account say the Pawnee had the Spanish flag? If it explained the Spanish trinkets, how would it, in all likelihood, explain them?
2. How does the Pawnee account explain the flag and trinkets?
3. How does the Sibley account see the symbolism of the taking down of the Spanish flag and the raising of the American? How does the Pawnee account see it?
4. What is the symbolism of the flag's colors and stars to each group?
5. Why do the accounts differ? Did the groups see different events as happening? Did they distort the events? Did they just interpret the events differently?

SECTION II.

Origin and Location as Posited by Conventional Scholarship

Objectives:

To allow the student to have the opportunity to follow the movement of the Pawnees, as posited by Anglo archeologists and historians, from their home in the southwestern part of the United States into the Plains of Nebraska, and finally, to Oklahoma where they are currently located.

To impress upon the student an understanding of the probable causes of these movements and to be able to comprehend the fact that migration is frequently caused by environmental, economic and/or social factors.

Material:

1. Three maps.
    - a. One, showing the putatively empty plains of the 1200s.
    - b. One showing the Indian migrations into the plains around 1600.
    - c. One showing the tribal territorial holdings in the plains around the 1860s.
2. "Century Flashback," Omaha World Herald, July 2, 1978.
3. Copy of Bayard H. Paine's Pioneers, Indians and Buffaloes, pp. 134 and 117.
4. Copy of material found on pages 8 and 9 of "Fighting Norths and Pawnee Scouts" by Robert Bruce.

Procedure:

Have the students do the map work and then read the material from "Fighting Norths and Pawnee Scouts." Then begin the following.

1. Ask them if they can recall their family moving from one geographical area to another and try to identify the reason for this movement. This should bring about an understanding that man must move occasionally, for economic reasons.

2. Now ask the students to do some role playing. Have them accept the idea that where they live in a community has been designed for a type of development that would eliminate their residence there. What are their options? If they do move, is this economically, or socially, induced? Which of the two do they resent most? Hopefully, this will bring about an understanding of the difference between migrations being caused by either economic or social factors.

3. Have the students read their N.S.H.S. history of the Pawnee and then play the tape by Garland Blaine and listen to him discuss the Pawnee's movements. See the tape instructions for taped material to be used in connection with "Origin and Migration."

   Do these questions with the students after the tape.

   A. Which of the Pawnee migrations would best be described as economically motivated? Explain why you think so!

   B. Why did the Pawnees never join other Native Americans in wars against the United States?

   C. When, and as a result of what, did the Pawnee's lands come into the hands of the United States Government?

   D. Who was the first, well-known, white man to meet the Pawnees? Under what circumstances?

4. Use the "Century Flashback." Read the story and then ask the students to compute the value of the land per acre.

Student Sheet

MAP I*

Examine the following map. It shows the Great Plains as reconstructed by archeologists, in a period of great drouth. The Pawnee are part of the Caddoan group.

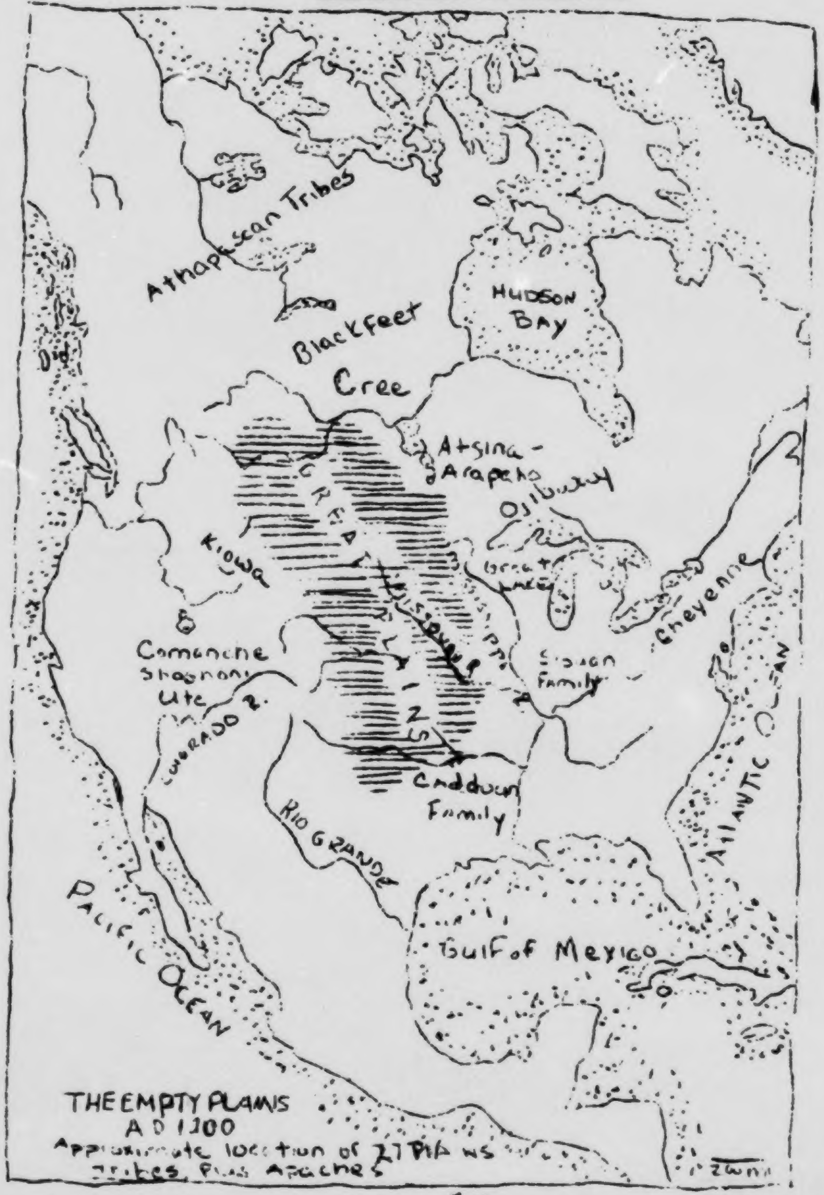
Answer the following questions:

1. Why are the Plains empty?

2. What characterizes the regions where tribes are found as you understand those regions? What happens to these regions in periods of plains drouth?

---

*After Francis Haines, The Plains Indians.


Athapascan Tribes
Blackfeet
Cree
Hudson Bay
Atsina-Arapaho
Ojibway
Great Lakes
Great Plains
Missouri
Mississippi R.
Kiowa
Comanche
Shoshoni
Ute
Colorado R.
Siouan Family
Cheyenne
Atlantic Ocean
Caddoan Family
Rio Grande
Gulf of Mexico
Pacific Ocean
THE EMPTY PLAINS
A D 1200
Approximate location of 27 Plains tribes, plus Apaches

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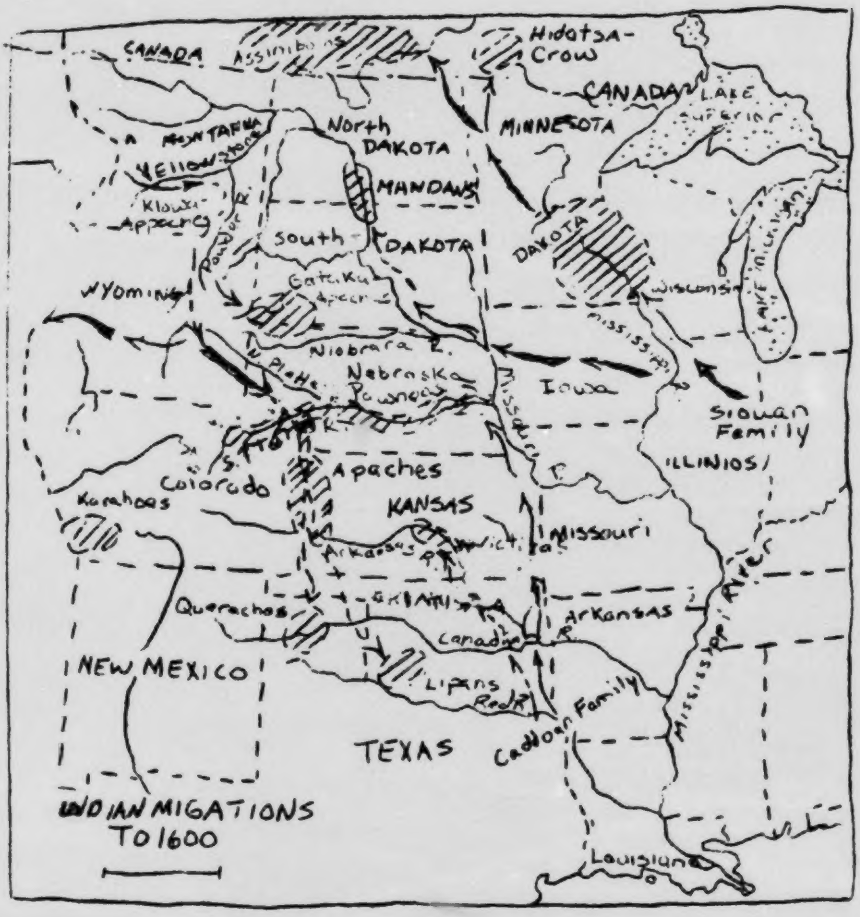
Student Sheet

MAP II.*

Examine the following map:


CANADA
Assiniboins
Hidatsa-
Crow
CANADA
LAKE
Superior
MONTANA
Yellowstone
North
DAKOTA
MINNESOTA
MANDANS
Kiowa-
Apache
Powder
South
DAKOTA
DAKOTA
Gataka
Apache
WYOMING
Wisconsin
LAKE Michigan
Mississippi
Niobrara R.
N. Platte
Nebraska
Pawnees
Iowa
Missouri
Siouan
Family
S. Platte
Apaches
ILLINIOS
Colorado
Karahoas
KANSAS
Missouri
Arkansas R.
Wichitas
Querechos
Arkansas
R.
River
Canadian
NEW MEXICO
Lipans
Red R.
Caddoan Family
Mississippi
TEXAS
INDIAN MIGATIONS
TO 1600
Louisiana

Answer the following questions:

1. The climate of the Plains grew wetter between 1200 and 1600. What routes do the tribes appear to have followed into the Plains? Why?

2. What, aside from changes in weather, may have pressed them after 1500?

---

*After Francis Haines, The Plains Indians.

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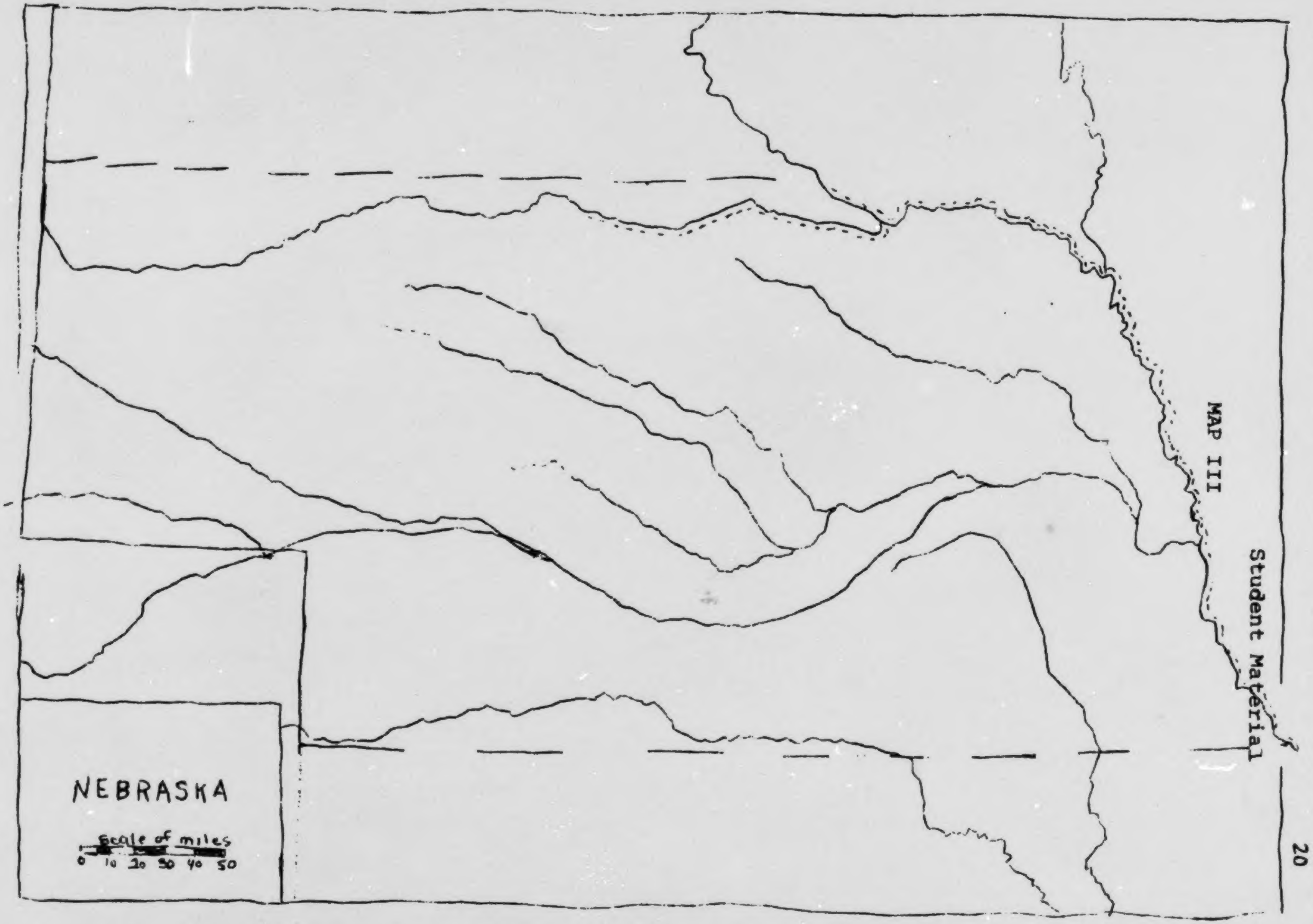
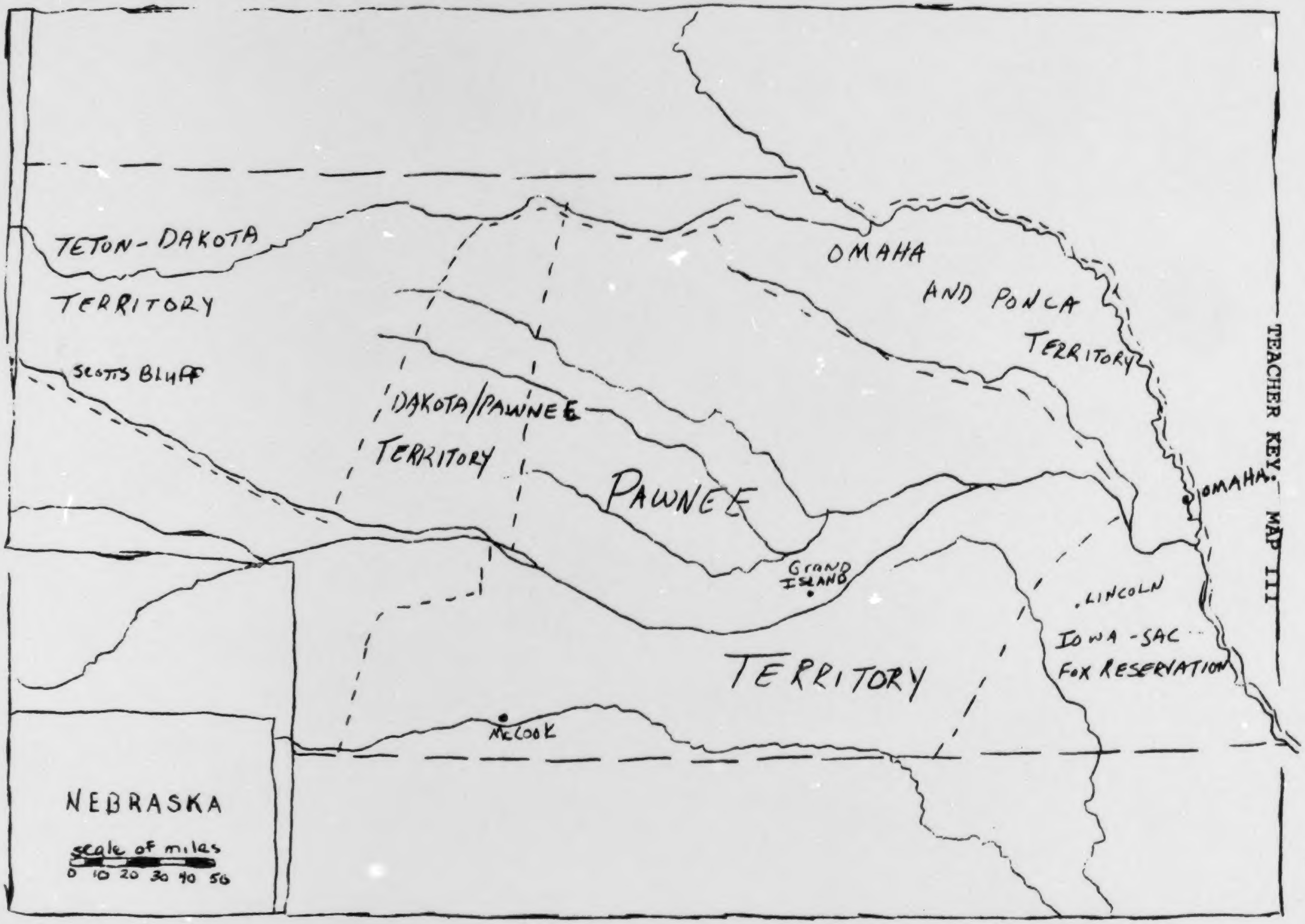
TEACHER MATERIAL: MAP III

The following map shows where the Pawnee are posited to have settled in Nebraska. Have the student fill in the tribal boundaries on their own maps and then have them look at some rainfall and topographical maps of the Pawnee region. Ask them to conjecture what resources the region had (and has) and how a settled agricultural tribe would use them.


NEBRASKA
Scale of miles
0 10 20 30 40 50

MAP III

Student Material


TETON-DAKOTA
TERRITORY
OMAHA
AND PONCA
TERRITORY
SCOTTS BLUFF
DAKOTA/PAWNEE
TERRITORY
PAWNEE
OMAHA
GRAND ISLAND
.LINCOLN
IOWA-SAC
FOX RESERVATION
TERRITORY
McCOOK
NEBRASKA
scale of miles
0 10 20 30 40 50

TEACHER KEY. MAP III

Student Sheet

Student Material: Essays

The following material describes one view of Pawnee migration. Read it and consider the attached questions. Then your teacher may ask you to run through some exercises.

Essay 1: The Movements of the Pawnee*

by Robert Bruce

The Pawnee confederacy belonged to the Caddoan family, and the people called themselves Chahiksichahiks ("men of men"). Originally from South American or old Mexico, the Pawnee migration covered a long time and was in a general northeasterly direction across what is now Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Kansas and eastern Colorado until finally established in the Platte Valley, which their traditions say was acquired by conquest.

On their way the Pawnees may have encountered southward movements of hostile aborigines from the north; when the Siouan tribes entered what is now Nebraska, they found Pawnees already there. How long they had resided on or near the Platte is not definitely known, but a sufficient time to give new terms for east and west to points along that stream.

As their villages were remote from the region contested by the Spaniards and French in the 17th-18th centuries, the Pawnees for a time escaped influences that proved disastrous to other tribes; but increasing contact with the white race introduced new diseases, brought reduction in population and loss of tribal power. When their territory passed under U. S. control in 1803, as a result of the Louisiana Purchase, the Pawnees came in close touch with the principal trading center, St. Louis.

At that time their territory extended from the Arkansas River on the south to the Niobrara on the north; bounded on the west by the country of the Cheyennes and Arapahos, and on the east by that of the Omahas north of the Platte--south of that stream by lands of the Otoe and Kansa tribes. The main trail to the southwest, and later across the Continent by Sante Fe, ran partly through Pawnee country. Traveling east or west anywhere between the Black Hills of South Dakota and Texas, one passes through regions once belonging to the Pawnees, and also finds their name applied to towns, counties, rivers and other natural features.

---

*From Robert Bruce, The Fighting Norths and Pawnee Scouts (New York: 1932), p. 8.

From the beginning of their recorded history, they were hereditary enemies of the Sioux and Cheyennes; and as our westward advancing civilization has often been in conflict with those tribes, they naturally found cooperation with the whites better policy than fighting them. Pawnees never joined other Indians in war against the United States.

They have given evidences of forbearance by waiting Government cooperation under treaty agreements, and their scouts rendered good, faithful service during several years of hostilities with wilder and fiercer tribes. Later history of the Pawnees has been characteristic of reservation life, gradually relaxing ancient customs and giving up their lands under pressure. In the 1870s they reversed part of the early migration by removing from Nebraska to what is now Oklahoma; and in 1892 took their lands in severalty, becoming U. S. citizens.

READING QUESTIONS TO PONDER:

Where had the Pawnee probably lived before coming to Nebraska?
Why were the Pawnee less likely to fight against the U. S. than the Sioux and Cheyenne were?

Student Sheet

Essay 2

The essay which follows gives an account of the history of the Pawnee as it is reconstructed by people at the Nebraska State Historical Society. Read it and contrast it with the Pawnee's own history given in the first section of this unit, Pawnee Perspectives in History, and the conclusions you have reached thus far.

Pawnee History

from NSHS Educational Leaflet #1

Archeological evidence suggests that the ancestors of the historic Pawnee may have lived in Nebraska as early as 1300 A.D. Remains of early villages and burials in Nebraska and Kansas have been designated by the archeologists who study them as belonging to the Upper Republican people who may have been Pawnee. These villages were small with three to ten rectangular earth-lodges which may vary in diameter from twenty to forty feet. Even at this early date these people were farmers who raised large crops of native corn, sunflowers, squash and perhaps other foods which they stored in jug-shaped pits. The pits were usually located beneath the floor of the houses. These small villages were unfortified, and there is little evidence of warfare. Burials were made singly in the flesh or in mass bone burials which are called ossuaries by the archeologists. After exposure of the bodies on scaffolds or in trees, the bones were gathered and placed in these ossuaries.

By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century when adequate descriptions of the Pawnee were provided by the early white explorers, the Pawnee were living in large villages of circular earth lodges, which might include more than a thousand people. Among the many early American explorers who came into contact with some of the Pawnee were: Lewis and Clark, 1804; Captain Zebulon M. Pike, 1806; Major Sibley, 1811; and Major S. H. Long in 1819.

As white settlement increased in the Nebraska area, the Pawnee were confined to smaller and smaller areas. In 1857 increased friction between the settlers and Pawnee led to the treaty of Table Creek whereby the

Pawnee were assigned a reservation 30 miles long and 15 miles wide with headquarters near Genoa in the present Nance County. By 1875 the tribe had given up its attempts to retain the old homeland and had moved to Indian territory in the present state of Oklahoma.

• • • • • • • •

Among the well known Pawnee warriors of Nebraska were Skaritarich (The Angry Chief) and Iskatappe (Rich Man), visited by Captain Zebulon M. Pike in 1806 at a village on the Republican River in the area which is now Webster County, Nebraska; Long Hair, head chief of the Grand Pawnee in 1809; Letaleshar (Knife Chief), father of Pitalesharu (Man Chief), who is generally given credit for stopping or discouraging the human sacrificial ceremony among the Skidi band; Sun Chief of the Grands; Singing Chief of the Pitahauerats; Big Axe, Black Chief and Spotted Horse of the Skidi, as well as many others who lived and died in the Nebraska area.

. . . Upon the removal of the Pawnee from Nebraska, which was completed in 1875, they first settled at the Wichita Agency in Indian Territory, but were eventually given a somewhat larger reservation than the one they had left in Nebraska. The climate of the southland, however, caused much illness among the tribe and many died. Some of the Pawnee warriors were to return to their homeland as scouts under Frank and Luther North, in battles against their old enemies, the Dakota Sioux and Cheyenne. In 1836 the Pawnee were reported to be a total of 1,149 Pawnee Indians. In general, their number appears to be increasing from the low of 646 which was reported in 1905.

READING QUESTIONS:

1. What details do you think a Pawnee person would add if he were to write this history?

2. How would the spirit of the history be different if it were done by a Pawnee person?

3. Now listen to an actual Pawnee person tell the history of Pawnee migration to see if your ideas fit with what he says.

Essay 3

In 1875, the Pawnee were moved to Oklahoma. The Omaha World Herald for July 2, 1878, contained the following story about the Pawnee removal. Read it and then look at the questions which follow:

"Century Flashback," July 2, 1878

> The Pawnee Indians own 278,000 acres in the central part of what is now the state of Nebraska, where they lived until a few years since. They were then attacked by the Sioux, 150 men, women, and children dying. The Pawnees decided to move to Oklahoma Indian Territory. But they found the change anything but what they expected. The government made no sufficient appropriation for establishing them on the new land. There are reported many deaths from starvation.
>
> Congress in 1876 approved selling the land in Nebraska and, after deducting $300,000 for the expense of caring for the Pawnees, crediting the remainder to the tribe. It will bear interest at not more than 5 percent.
>
> The sale will be July 15 at Central City. The land has been appraised in 40-acre tracts, but will be sold in tracts of 160 acres. The value is $750,000. The Union Pacific and three Chicago railroads will sell tickets to Central City at excursion rates.

QUESTIONS TO PONDER:

1. If the Pawnee land was sold for $750,000, what was the price per acre?
2. After deducting the $300,000 for "moving expenses," what was the price per acre received by the Pawnee?
3. Why did the Pawnee agree to move to Oklahoma?
4. If, as Garland Blaine indicates on the tape, most of the Pawnee walked, what were the "moving expenses"?

Student Sheet

Essay 4

Read the following account of the last Pawnee buffalo hunts before they moved to Oklahoma.

Last Successful Buffalo Hunt by the Pawnees*

by Bayard H. Paine

The last great tribal hunt of the Pawnees took place in July and August, 1872. Some 800 Indians made the final 'surround' south of the Republican river and killed about 1,000 buffaloes in a single day.

I have called this hunt the last 'successful' tribal hunt because the following summer you will recall that when about 700 of these same Pawnees went on their summer hunt they met disaster. The Pawnees claim it was because there were only 150 of their warriors along and the rest were women and children and old men. On this unfortunate hunt in 1873 the Pawnees were under a government agent, Mr. John W. Williamson, and the hunt had been authorized, yet by some mistake of government authorities the Ogallala and Brule Sioux and their friends, a few Cheyennes and Arapahoes, had also been given permission to make a hunt at the same time along the Republican, so that these Pawnees ran into their allied enemies at an unfortunate time.

Many of the Sioux were armed with guns, while the Pawnees had bows and arrows. Between 150 and 200 Pawnees were slain, mostly women and children; probably the entire party would have been killed if a troop of cavalry from Ft. McPherson had not come up accidentally and, seeing them, the Sioux fled, although the soldiers did not attempt to interfere in a battle which was so clearly between Indian tribes, as the Massacre Canyon battle.

Although the great buffalo hunt of 1872 has been given a paragraph in several books, I cannot find that it has been given any extended treatment except in a single chapter in Grinnell's 'Pawnee Hero and Folk Tales,' and I have gathered all the information I could obtain from all sources to describe this last typical tribal hunt.

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*From Bayard H. Paine, Pioneers, Indians and Buffaloes (Curtis: Curtis Enterprise, 1935), p. 117.

QUESTIONS TO PONDER:

1. How successful was the Pawnee tribal buffalo hunt of 1872?
2. Why was the hunt in 1873 unsuccessful?
3. Do you believe that the U. S. Government contrived to give the Sioux guns and/or encouraged the Pawnee-Sioux battle to get the Pawnee out of Nebraska as Garland Blaine suggests on the videotape?

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SECTION III

Pawnee Religion and World View

Objectives:

The student should receive the idea of the tremendous impact that religion had upon the Native Americans' lives. Further, he/she should identify the concept that spiritual beliefs provided explanations for natural events: the cyclical cycle of life represented by various stages of development which one was continuously passing through, so that at the end of life a new beginning was also applied to nature. And last, but not least, the student should gain an appreciation and understanding of other cultures' religious values regardless of how strange or foreign they may seem.

Materials:

[NOTE: The teacher is encouraged to see the elementary school unit on the Pawnee and to use such materials and activities as may be appropriate for review if the students have previously studied such a unit and for additional background if they have not.]

1. Copy of the Overview.
2. Copy of the "Pawnee Creation Story," from Gene Weltfish, The Lost Universe, pp. 80-83.
3. Copy of "The Corn Dance" by George B. Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales, pp. 369-73.
4. Garland Blaine, "Pawnee Religion in Oklahoma."

Procedure:

1. Have the students write on a piece of paper how their religion influences their lives.
2. Then have the students read the overview. Then use the section of Garland Blaine's tape which deals with Pawnee religious activity.
3. Ask the students what a "Sacred Bundle" is. Then let them read the overview that deals with that; specifically, how the Bundle relates to the Corn Dance.

Questions:

1. When Mr. Blaine asked his Grandpa, "Grandpa, where did we come from?" the scene becomes quiet and still. Which of the following words would communicate most effectively the reason for the stillness? (Fear-Hostility-Reverence-Uncertainty.)

2. Who were the priests who led these ceremonies? Could just anybody be a priest?

3. Have the student write how religion affected the lives of the Pawnee and compare it to their own composition.

4. In regard to the Indians' belief in man and his relationship to the earth being kept in harmony and balance, does the tape drive that point home?

5. Have the student define in his, or her, own words what this sentence implies. "The universe is orderly, and order is harmony when things are in balance. When things get out of balance, or equilibrium, it's a cause for illness."

6. Have the students think about the effects that the forced imposition of white religion, technology, and government would have on the Pawnee world view.

Resource Materials for the Teacher:

1. Gene Weltfish, Lost Universe, p. 80.

2. George Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. 23-24, 80.

3. George B. Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories, pp. 17-19.

4. Alexander Lesser, The Pawnee Ghost Dance and Hand Game, pp. 80-81.

5. George B. Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales, pp. 17-19.

6. Preston Holder, The Hoe and the Horse on the Plains, pp. 44-47.

Student Sheet

Essay 1

Read the following essay:

OVERVIEW

by Chris Solberg and Erwin Goldenstein

The lives of the Pawnee prior to 1875 centered almost exclusively around their religion. All of the ancient stories told in the tribes convey some religious lesson, usually recommending trust in the Deity, submission to his will, and prayers for his help. The religious beliefs of the Pawnee were not recorded in writing, but the practice of their faith depended upon a strong oral tradition. The Indians' religious belief was cyclical in nature, which means that man is to live in harmony with nature. There is no finality in death, only a reversal to an original state. Similarly, the seasons of the year follow each other in regular rotation.

The Plains Indian believed that as all things moved through this circular pattern, in the center of this circle all forces come together. A force, a great power sends its energy through, and is a part of everything. But this force isn't necessarily a God in the sense that we understand the Deity.

An ear of sacred corn represented the universe for the Pawnee. It was painted blue around the bottom half with four blue lines leading to the point to represent paths of prayers to heaven along the four semicardinal directions--northwest, northeast, southeast, and southwest. A single white feather was placed on the point of the ear to represent heaven itself. Each semicardinal direction represented a force in nature. The force of the northwest was lightning, represented by yellow, the mountain lion, and the cottonwood. In the northeast the force was thunder, represented by black, the bear, and the elm. The force of the southeast was that of the clouds, represented by red, the wolf, and the willow. The winds were the force of the southwest, and they were represented by white, the wildcat and the box elder. Thus the sacred ear and the semicardinal directions also represented the circular and cyclical nature of the universe.

Student Sheet

Ceremonies and sacred dances were repeated annually to reaffirm Pawnee beliefs that the world is good, and these rituals were to retune or fine tune themselves to nature. Ceremonies would vary in length, some lasting up to twenty days, and no serious activity was ever engaged in before a religious ceremony was enacted. The concept of this is to encourage every member of the tribe to re-establish his own identity with his role in nature and society.

In the Pawnee world view the idea of the greater good of the tribe is profoundly more important than the good of the individual. To learn something and then to apply that to the tribe's benefit is the important aspect. Generosity, sharing, contributing to the good of all were paramount among the Pawnee. Selfish individualism was regarded as negative and unrealistic.

Religion then served several functions for the Pawnee. It created a spiritual base for religious principles and also provided a set of basic values regarding man's interaction with others. Prominent among these values were truthfulness, honesty, and integrity. Therefore, the ceremonies and rituals were a constant reminder to him of his role in society and his place in the unending cycle of nature.

The Pawnee believed that the universe was orderly, and order is manifested in harmony--when things are in balance. When things get out of equilibrium, illness and dysfunction follow. Such illness and dysfunction may be social as well as physical. The harmony of the universe was therefore highly valued, and the Pawnee were dedicated to its maintenance.

The religious and political structure of the Pawnee was held together by the "Sacred Bundle." The bundle is a religious object which contains supernatural powers controlled by its owner. It consists of a skin envelope containing physical objects which are reminders used to recall elements of religious philosophy and ritual by its examiner.

The bundle was the possession of the chief--his symbol of authority. But it was his wife to whom the care of the bundle was entrusted, and upon the chief's death the bundle was inherited by his son. While the chief "owned" the bundle, the working of its contents was the responsibility of a priest who had spent years learning how to manage its secrets. The priest, in turn, began to prepare a protege for the transfer of the knowledge and intricacies inherent in the bundle. When all of the priest's knowledge had been transmitted to the assistant, the priest was succeeded by his assistant.

The people of a tribe were thus held together by the chief and the religious interpretation of the bundle by the priest. So strongly did the people believe in the chief's leadership and the priest's role in the use of the power of this sacred object for the good of the whole tribe that if the bundle were destroyed or lost, it would mean the death of the tribe. It would appear that this was a valid belief because the "loss of the bundle" would destroy the political and religious structure which maintained the chief and unified the people to whom he was responsible for his leadership.

There were two types of bundles, personal and tribal. The tribal bundle was discussed above, and the only attention given to the personal bundle is the assumption that its significance to its individual owner was of a magnitude equal to the tribal bundle for the tribe.

QUESTIONS TO PONDER:

1. Why was the circle important to the Pawnee?
2. What functions did the Pawnee religion serve?
3. Why was the "Sacred Bundle" important to the Pawnee?

Student Sheet

Essay 2

The Pawnee Creation Story--Pawnee "history" begins before the story of the creation of "Center Village" and the villages of the four directions. Read the following Pawnee account of creation. As you read, try to think of how people who told this story would view the European and Yankee culture which was coming in.

Creation *

by Gene Weltfish,
(after Pawnee Storytellers)

In the beginning Heaven sat in the unassorted universe and thought. He sent his thoughts out over space. Then he created the celestial gods to bring his thoughts to fruition. First he made the gods of the cardinal directions--the Evening Star at the west with the moon as her helper, the Morning Star at the east with the sun as his helper, in the north the North Star and in the south, Canopus, the South Star. Then Heaven placed four stars in the semicardinal directions--Black Star in the northeast, Yellow Star in the northwest, White Star in the southwest and Red Star in the southeast. Heaven said to them, 'You four shall be known as the ones who uphold the heavens. There you shall stand as long as the heavens last, and although your place is to hold the heavens up, I also give you power to create people. You shall give them the different bundles which shall be holy bundles. Your powers will be known to the people, for you shall touch the heavens with your hands, and your feet shall touch the earth.'

Now Heaven spoke to Evening Star, in the west. So that they might do her bidding, he sent her clouds, winds, lightnings, and thunders, and these she was to place between herself and her garden; then they would assume human form, appearing in the dress of priests, each with a gourd rattle in his right hand. With these arrangements in order, Heaven was now ready to create the world:

It was the storms that carried out this mission, one great thunderstorm to create the lifeless structure, and a second to endow it with life. All this took many eons.

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*From Gene Weltfish, The Lost Universe (New York: Basic Books, 1965), pp. 80-83.

Student Sheet

Heaven told the Evening Star to tell her gods to rattle and sing. As they sang, the clouds came up, then the winds blew the clouds and the lightnings and thunders entered the clouds. The thick clouds gathered over open space and into them Heaven dropped a pebble--a quartz crystal. The pebble rolled in the clouds and as the storm passed over, the whole world below was water. Now Heaven sent out the four semicardinal-direction gods, each armed with a war club of hemlock, the wood known to the Skidi as *atira*, my mother. As they approached their appropriate *stations*, they were to strike the waters which would cause them to part and expose the earth. Each of the four semicardinal-direction bundles is said to contain such a war club of hemlock that was actually used in the original creation.

Now the lifeless structure of the earth had been formed. A second great storm was needed to put life into the earth. Heaven instructed Evening Star to have her four gods (impersonated by the priests in the ritual) rattle and sing, and, while they sang, clouds came up, winds, lightnings, and thunders, and, while the gods sang of the formation of the earth, 'the storms passed over the earth, and as the winds blew, it rained, the lightnings striking in the ground to put life in the earth. The thunders now shook the earth so that in parts where it was not level, the dirt slid down into the valleys.' In these two great storms, the earth, *uraru*, was created and then life put into it.

Next were to be created the timbers and the underbrush, *tuharu*, that make the land grey. The gods sang, and with the first great storm, the structure of the timbers was created. There was a second great thunderstorm in which the lightning struck them and the thunders sounded over them to put life into the *tuharu*, the timber.

Fourth in the great creation were the waters, *tsaharu*, and two great eras of storm were needed--one to give it its structure and a second to make it a living reality. The bottoms of the creeks, rivers, ponds, and lakes were cleared as 'the wind passed over the streams' and it rained. Then the waters filled the stream, *tsaharu*. Then the lightnings struck the streams and the thunders sounded into them and the sound of the streams flowing through the land was heard to reply, and Heaven knew that they were sweet.

The fifth creation was of cultivated seeds, *kakiu*. In a first storm, the seeds were dropped on the earth by the gods. Then in a second storm, Evening Star sent winds, clouds, thunder, and lightnings over the earth so that the seeds had life and sprouted. 'After all this was done, Heaven was glad and hid himself for a time.'

To the stars, Heaven had assigned the task of creating people in their own image. Now Morning Star called them all into council, but in the course of their proceedings, a great conflict developed between him and the Evening Star. Now in order to bring light and life into the world, Morning Star had to set out from his home in the east to conquer Evening Star and mate with her. Evening Star was ready for him. In the four semicardinal world quarters she had placed four fierce animals--wolf in the southeast, who had the power of the clouds; wildcat in the southwest, with power of the winds; mountain lion in the northwest, with lightning power; and bear in the northeast, with his power of thunder. While the other male gods had come from the east trying desperately to overcome the powers, they had all died in the attempt. Now Morning Star with his helper, the Sun, had succeeded, but he had one more obstacle to overcome. Evening Star had provided herself with vaginal teeth 'like the mouth of a rattlesnake with teeth around,' and these Morning Star had to break with a meteor stone in order to mate with her. As a result of his success, a girl was born to Evening Star. She was the first human being that the stars had created. She stood on a cloud and was carried to earth by a funnel-shaped whirlwind. Now moon and Sun mated, and they created a boy who was also carried to earth.

The gods now held two more councils to make further plans for humanity. In the first council, the Big Black Meteoric Star presided, in the second, the Evening Star. Heaven now came out of his retirement to help them. He told Evening Star to call her four storm priests to rattle and sing, and it rained on the two children, lightning struck around them, and the thunders roared. At last they understood, and they lay together and a child was born to them. Heaven instructed Evening Star again, and through further storms each young person was instructed in his respective role in life--the girl in the fruitfulness of the earth, the form of the earth lodge, the nature of speech and of the land outside. The man got the clothing of a warrior and was shown the way to travel over the earth, how to make war and how to hunt; he was also taught his role in the act of procreation.

The people began to increase and Evening Star came many times in visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being 'Master of Ceremonies' for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, Tsahiks-paruksti, 'person-wonderful.' This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled recounting, in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and ongoing life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first ceremony being that of the Evening Star bundle--the creation; the second, a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a ceremony under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. . . . In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together in the Skidi Federation.

QUESTIONS TO PONDER:

1. What was the purpose of the stars at the semi-cardinal directions?
2. What was the importance of the Evening Star?
3. What was the Pawnee belief concerning the origin of human life on earth?

After you have reviewed the Pawnee creation story, your teacher will show you a videotape of Garland Blaine discussing the Pawnee world view and religion. As you look at it, consider how people who believed as Blaine says the Pawnee believed faced "the white world."

Student Sheet

Essay 3

You may have read the material which follows in elementary school study of the Pawnee. As you read it, consider how the Pawnee might have had "to change their ways" when they were forced to farm on private property using the "white man's way."

The Pawnee Corn Dance*

by George B. Grinnell

I know of no satisfactory and detailed account of any of the sacred dances of the Pawnees. There were many of these, among them the corn dance, the buffalo dance, the wild horse dance, the deer, bear, dog dances and so on. I give below an account of the corn dance, as detailed to me by Curly Chief, who said:

> The windy month [March] was the one in which Ti-ra'-wa gave us the seed to cultivate. The first moon of April is the one during which they had a special worship about the corn. Until these ceremonies had been performed no one would clear out the patch where they intended to plant the crop. Everybody waited for this time.
>
> The Kit-ke-hahk'-i was the only tribe in which this special ceremony was handed down. The Chau-i and Pita-hau-erat worshiped with them. The preparations for this dance are always made by a woman. She has to think about it a long time before she can make up her mind to undertake it. In making ready for the dance, she must furnish the dried meat made from the whole of a buffalo, fat and lean, every part of it. The sack which holds the heart she dries, and fills it with all the kinds of corn--the five colors, the blue corn, which represents the blue sky, the red corn, which stands for the evening sunset, the yellow corn, which typifies the morning sunrise, the white corn, which stands for a white cloud, and the spotted corn, which represents the sky dotted with clouds. All these she puts in the bag, placing in the sack three grains of each at a time. On the

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*George B. Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), pp. 369-73.

special day which has been fixed for the dance, she must offer these things to Ti-ra'-wa. The people are all gathered together, the women standing on the outside of the circle behind, and the men on the inner side of the circle in front. This is a woman's dance, and yet the men are there in front of the women. These men are the leading warriors of the tribe. They have been off on the warpath, and in time of corn have gone to the enemy. They have been successful in war, and therefore they are with the women. They stand about the circle holding their pipes in their left hands, showing that they are leaders of war parties, and each with the skin of a particular bird tied on top of the head, showing that they are warriors.

The floor of the lodge must be hard, and swept as clean as it can be. On the left hand side as you look toward the door is a buffalo skull.

When the day has come all the people are gathered together and are standing about the lodge. The high priest stands at the back of the lodge with the sacred bundles of the three bands before him. Then this leading woman comes forward, and presents to the high priest the dried meat and the sack of corn, and two ancient, sacred hoes, made from the shoulder-blade of a buffalo, bound to a handle by the neck ligament. She places them on the ground before the sacred bundles, the corn in the middle, and the two hoes on either side. With these things she also presents a sacred pipe, filled and ready for lighting, taken from a sacred bundle. Then she steps back.

The old high priest must well know the ceremonies to be performed. He prays to Ti-ra'-wa and lights the sacred pipe, blowing smoke to heaven, to the earth, and to the four points of the compass. While the ceremonies are going on, the buffalo skull is taken to the sacred place in this lodge, and put in a particular position. Then the leading woman steps forward again, followed by two others. She takes the bag of corn, and the other two women take the hoes, and they stand in front of the high priest. He sings and prays. The leading woman stands in a particular position, as directed by the high priest, holding the bag of corn up to the sky in both her hands; and as he sings, she raises and lowers it in time to the music of the song.

After these ceremonies the women come forward, holding their hoes in their hands, and dance about the lodge one after another in single file, following the leading woman. Four times they dance about the lodge. She cannot pass the priest the fifth time. These ceremonies and the songs and prayers were to ask for a blessing on the hunt and on the corn, and to learn whether they would be blessed in both. After the women had danced and gone back to their places, everybody looked on the floor of the lodge to see whether there were any buffalo hairs there. If they saw them, they all said, "Now we are going to be successful in our hunt and in our corn." Everybody said, "We are blessed."

Then when they would go out on the hunt they would find plenty of buffalo, and the messenger sent back to the village from the hunt would return to the camp and say, "We have plenty of corn." If they saw a great many buffalo hairs they would get many buffalo; if but few they would get some buffalo.

The next day after these ceremonies every one would begin to clear up their patches and get ready to plant corn. The leading woman who prepared the dance is respected and highly thought of. After that she is like a chief.

This ceremony is the next principal thing we have after the burnt offering of the animal and of the scalp. We did not invent this. It came to us from the Ruler, and we worship him through it. He gave us the corn and blessed us through it. By it we are made strong.

We are like seed and we worship through the corn.

QUESTIONS TO PONDER:

1. What was the purpose of the corn dance?
2. Why did the women examine the floor of the lodge for buffalo hairs after the dance?
3. Why was a respected woman chosen to make preparations for the corn dance?

Student Sheet

Essay 4

The Pawnee had to change when they went to Oklahoma and had white technology, religion and farm practice forced on them. Following is material by Garland Blaine on the Pawnee world-view after the arrival in Oklahoma. Read the essay looking for (1) ways in which the Pawnee reorganized themselves to keep alive the old world-view; (2) ways in which they looked at the white world. As you read, consider what the Plains would have been like today if the old Pawnee way had dominated. What evils might have been avoided?

Religion Among the Pawnee After the Removal to Oklahoma in the 1870s

by Garland Blaine

. . . The Pawnees in the 1870s moved to Indian Territory. Now after they settled at what is now around and near Pawnee, Oklahoma, due to change of climate, water, environment, and due to sicknesses that followed, the Pawnees dwindled from many people to as low as in the 1880s, I think it was in the late 1880s, as low as eight hundred and fifty probably or down to maybe six hundred plus or minus a few. There were a few years that they did not hold their ceremonies, only superficially, only got together and, not the seats being filled, went on ahead and went as far as they could, due to the fact that they knew that the rest of them that could be there were probably at home sick. When the sickness left and the Pawnee bands tried to restart their dances, they found out that each band could not go on with the dance due to the seats [in the ceremony] being vacant by people from dying. So as a result, what happened then was the three bands what is now known as the south bands, So-wu-hu, Kit-tah-haw-ku, Pu-tah-huh-wu-duh-tah; these three bands reorganized, and they came up with the dance where all the seats were filled from the three bands. The reason why the Skidi did not reorganize was because in their band they were also three--I think three different what you might call sub-bands. So, they found that they could have a dance.

On the south side of the Oklahoma groups, we found that we could not have a dance. So we reorganized, and this way we came out with the bear dance, the buffalo dance, and the doctor dance, along with some lance dances. So they started in again. My grandfather was a young man at that time, and he took his places in these seats vacated by his relatives. Now in 1916, I . . . . just learning how to stand up and so I . . . my grandfather, whenever he would go to a dance, I would go with him and I could reach over and get him matches, hand him water, start with him out to the outside. I was his good right hand. And so as a result, the following years I got a little older, this is one of the reasons, basically the reason that I took . . . at that age, that I was in all the dances during . . . from the first night to the last day when the dances were performed and . . . . [Thus, at least, the bear dance, doctor dance, and buffalo dance were preserved.]

The Pawnees tried to understand white culture and ways; a lot of it was baffling to him. But he revered it; he knew that this came from study, and one song I will tell you about. The first time that the Pawnee delegation, the chiefs, went to Washington, one of the men of my grandmother's relatives, he was a chief and when he returned, he named his daughter Iron Roads. He had seen the horse cars; he had seen the railroad and the tracks. And this . . . he revered it in this manner. He said, truly the white man is much more advanced than I am. He said, the way I've been told he took the ground that God made and he sifted the dirt. And with his knowledge out of that, well he made the iron, he made the glass, and he made other things. He put all these together and he made a vehicle. And this vehicle shines light, a tremendous light so that he can see where he's going at night. And he symbolized it like this, that we were brought to light. And these people made this vehicle and they put a light on it. And God blessed them with this knowledge, where they may do all these things, you know. So he made a song that says: "I hear the noise./ It is taking me./ It is carrying me, this light./" In Indian, when we hear this song--it's a sacred song to us. But this man was, I would say, he was inspired just as much as anybody that had ever been inspired--inspired to put these words together and make such a profound meaningful song. And it was readily accepted and they used it in the buffalo dance.

QUESTIONS TO PONDER:

1. Consider what in the Pawnee "world view" was undermined by the removal and forcing of white religion and concepts on the Pawnee (for example, "private property" in land.)

2. Why might the corn dance have died out?

3. What factors might have killed the Peace Pipe dance (studied in the elementary unit)?

Student Sheet

4. How did the Pawnee keep alive the bear, buffalo and lance dances?

5. In the Pawnee song, the railroad becomes a holy thing--like a star and thunder carrying man. Why does not European culture regard the railroad as sacred? What in Pawnee culture may have prepared the way for seeing the "moving light and thunder" which carried man as sacred and a gift of God?

SECTION IV

Tribal Structure and Kinship

Objectives:

1. To make the student aware of the "uniqueness" of tribal structure.
2. To present to the student a clear, concise picture of the terms: Nuclear Family, Family, Extended Family, and show the essential functions of these members within the society.
3. To allow the student to see how this efficient organization was altered and destroyed upon contact with Anglo Culture.
4. To show the sensitivity of the Pawnee people in regard to child rearing.

Materials for the Teacher:

1. Gene Weltfish, Lost Universe, pp. 18-27.
2. Copy of the overview.
3. Garland Blaine's tape of the "Rattlesnake Story."

Procedure:

1. Ask the students to make a list of ten (10) things that they feel would make their lives most happy. Then ask them to circle three of those ten which they think are most essential to their happiness. Then play Garland Blaine's tape and see if their ideas of happiness are the same as those of the Pawnees.
2. Play Garland Blaine's tape of the "Rattlesnake Story" and then lead the class in a discussion to see if the meaning is clear to them.
3. Have the students read the enclosed material adapted from Weltfish and answer these questions:
   a. Why was the idea of "sharing" almost regarded as a religious activity?
   b. Why would it be improper to visit close relatives too often?

c. How did one achieve "social rank" in Pawnee society other than by birth?

d. Within any given Pawnee lodge were women's duties clearly defined by their age? Explain.

e. What value did the Pawnee see in the multiple-parenthood concept?

Essay 5

Some people have argued that the Pawnee lost to the Sioux and lost their land in Nebraska because sickness and war had made their moral character decline. Read the following essay:

Pawnee Honesty*

by Bayard Paine

Mr. Walton well remembered the tribal hunt in 1872, and said that after the tribe left the Genoa Reservation on this hunt he went through all of their permanent lodges and found only two or three of the very old Indians who had been left behind, and that these were taken care of until the tribe returned. He said when they returned from this tribal hunt in 1872 they were anxious to get all sorts of trinkets and he bought tons of dried buffalo beef of them, stored it carefully, and in the spring sold it back to the same Indians at a very good profit. He said the Pawnee Indians were honest and reliable, and that while he allowed many of them to run accounts with him he never lost a cent on a Pawnee account, but lost hundreds of dollars on accounts to the early settlers during the drouth and grasshopper times. He said the Pawnees were very liberal with each other, and if one Indian had a supply of anything he would usually divide with less fortunate members of the tribe, especially among his relatives.

Mr. Walton grew reminiscent and said that he had been in love with a young lady when he left Baltimore in 1867, but her father would not allow her to marry him if she had to come west and live with Indians. He said he wrote her very loving letters, trying to induce her to come. Finally he was on one of the Dakota reservations in early 1873 and one Sunday afternoon was sitting on a log writing the warmest love letter that he could write to her, and that a number of the blanketed Sioux maidens came and watched him. He thought this was perfectly harmless, and they stood back of him looking over his shoulder. Finally while writing the last page of final entreaties, and with all that that usually contains, one of these blanketed Indian maidens, whom he supposed could not read a word of English, shook herself and grunted then yelled out, 'Too soft,' and then he discovered that she was a graduate of an Indian school and had been able to read everything he had written, as had one or two of the others. However, the letter was in vain, for his sweetheart would not come west, so he sold out his store and returned to Baltimore and married her. He was very successful in selling real estate additions around the city of Baltimore, and has become of late years a traveler, having gone around the world several times. He had only good things to say about the honesty, integrity, morals and conduct of the Pawnee Indians under their old tribal chiefs in the early seventies.

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*From Bayard Paine, Pioneers, Indians and Buffaloes, p. 134.

QUESTIONS TO PONDER:

1. Did Mr. Walton believe the Pawnee were honest in their transactions with him?

2. Do you believe that Mr. Walton was honest in his transactions with the Pawnee? Why or why not?

Student Sheet

STUDENT ACTIVITY

View Garland Blaine's tape of the "Rattlesnake Story." As you listen to the story, think of what it says about Pawnee ideas about:

1. Growing up;
2. Developing talents;
3. Relating to one's own social group and to other groups or nature.

Student Sheet

ESSAY: PAWNEE TRIBAL STRUCTURE AND KINSHIP

(As adapted from pp. 18-27 of Gene Weltfish's Lost Universe)
by Erwin Goldenstein and Chris Solberg)

The Pawnee household was a working group of individual members rather precisely organized and coordinated. When the tribe set out on its buffalo hunts, however, the household work group was fragmented into many smaller groupings centered around each able hunter. When the Pawnee returned to the village at the conclusion of the hunt, the households did not necessarily reassemble with the same people as before. This was optional, and there were many reasons why people might decide to join a different household than the one in which they had previously lived. It was not too difficult to establish a working household on this basis since the pattern of operation in every household was the same. A person could therefore fit in almost anywhere. This may seem strange to us but their customs were different from ours in a number of respects.

The mature married man did not consider the household into which he had married his true home. In fact, he was something of an outsider there, and his formal obligations sometimes tended to weigh rather heavily on him. When this happened, he would often go to his true home, that of his sisters and his mother, where they would feed him and take care of him, and where he could relax and feel like a child. In such cases, his wife understood, and she knew that he would be back in a few days.

The fixed unit of Pawnee life was the village with 300 to 500 people in from ten to twelve households. The community centered around the chief who had his authority through a vision from heaven. Everybody in the village was also under the protection of a given star, and the chief held the sacred bundle that represented the supernatural story of its origin and gave the village its continuity. In this respect all the people in the village were considered related, but they held different social ranks. Some, for example, were born as chiefs, some as braves, and some as commoners. High ranking chieftains' families provided the administrators; the braves provided the executives; the lowest group was called commoners, or simply "the tribe or people," and they provided whatever help the village might require. The Pawnee regarded their social function in the community as having been determined for them.

The commoners, known collectively as kitaru, "the tribe or people," were often reminded by their officials that only their support made it possible to carry out the responsibilities of higher office. Social ranking, however, was not altogether fixed or inflexible. A chief or brave might not feel capable of carrying out his office and would voluntarily relinquish it, or he might be asked to relinquish it. A commoner, on the other hand, had the opportunity to rise high in the social scale.

Members of one village would be called a clan, which was a large, extended family. There were several clans who had several similar characteristics such as language, religious beliefs, etc. that were held in common. Several of these clans created a band, and, of course, several bands constituted a tribe. The people in any band had a common set of characteristics, beliefs, and values.

The same concept of organization, responsibilities, and functions that existed in the small unit or village was incorporated into the clan, band, and tribal structure. It is to be understood that for the most part the people were separated into their villages and would only congregate collectively for special purposes such as religious functions, an impending hunt of some magnitude, or a commonly shared danger.

Within the Pawnee social order there is no indication of a power structure that associated authority with men or women. In reality, neither one was completely dominant and, as a result, the position of men and women among the Pawnee was certainly balanced.

According to Pawnee custom, all marriages were made within one's own village. To marry outside the village would be considered an undue risk and contrary to the preordained plan. The village was in this sense a large extended family, geographically localized. Within this general family the lines were very sharply drawn as to whom one could and could not marry. The kinship system was designed to avoid marriage or sexual involvement with one's close relatives. The family was primarily matrilineal--that is the mother's family was regarded as one's very own family while that of the father and his relatives was considered a different and somewhat more remote relationship.

Since, as has already been indicated, a man always had a home in his sister's household, a brother was thought to owe his sister a life-long debt. Thus when a sister had a son, she might send him to live in her brother's household when he was about ten years old. There his uncle would teach him whatever he needed to know in life, and he was helped to become a productive member of the village.

Student Sheet

The oldest brother inherited the family property and as the senior member of the group he was responsible for the well being of his younger brothers. Sometimes two or more brothers would set up a joint household sharing their wives and their property. The children in such cases addressed all the elders as father and mother. And the elders in turn addressed all the children as their own. A similar condition might also exist among a group of sisters married to the same man. Only a man of some wealth, however, would be able to afford to keep a household with more than one wife.

As each person was introduced into a child's life, the child was given an idea of how to act toward that person. One of the ways in which this was conveyed was through the kin term by which the child was instructed to address the newcomer. Along with the term of address, the style of conduct was indicated so that the child received a code of manners as he came into contact with one after another of his normal associates.

The Pawnee child was taught to treat his mother with profound respect. The term atira, "my mother," carried with it a high degree of reverence among the Pawnee. The manner of acting toward a mother was far more formal than it is in our society. The mother was always concerned with her child. She provided for him and instructed him how to act in his own life and in social situations. A mother was one's mainstay in life, but one did not bother her with petty problems. When children were weaned, they were given over to the care of their grandmother, where they enjoyed a relationship of intimacy, warmth, and informality which made it easier for them to appeal to her for any want than to their own mother. Thus the relationship with the mother was a respect relationship and the relationship with the grandmother was more of a joking but friendly relationship.

The network of kin relationships extended throughout the village for every individual member. The term atira, "my mother," applied not only to one's own mother and the mother's immediate sisters but also to the sisters of the father, as a mark of special respect. It was also extended to the female cousins. This kind of organization tended to restrict the possibility of marriage among close relatives.

The relationship with one's father was also highly formal. It involved a special concern and instruction in right conduct and maintenance, particularly with respect to providing fresh meat and dried buffalo meat which were considered necessary for energy and growth. The father and his family were not considered one's own family in the sense that the mother's family was. The mother's sisters were completely identified with the mother, and there was little difference in one's attitude toward them. The mother's brother was an even more familiar person who theoretically was ready to share whatever he had with his nephew. A boy might enter the household into which his maternal uncle was married from the age of ten and assume the role of apprentice husband, and eventually when he came of age, junior husband. He was thus learning the role of the husband. He called his uncle's wife, "wife" and the child of his uncle "my child" even though his uncle's child might be older than he.

The relationship with the grandfather was similar to that with the grandmother. It was a relaxed relationship characterized by familiar joshing, poking fun, and even manhandling. Under any circumstances other than the joking kin category, the Pawnee scrupulously avoided any reference to the physical person or to intimate relations. A violation of this prohibition would be regarded as a personal insult and almost criminal. Even with the joking category the Pawnee were very careful not to go too far. Account was taken of the respective personalities involved, some people being considered too sensitive to take strong jokes while other more hardy spirits were treated somewhat more roughly. One common tactic of the grandfather was to take his grandson out of bed on a cold morning and dump him into water or snow. This was intended to harden him, and no one else was in a position to do such a thing.

Discipline and teaching of the young was shared by the many relatives with whom the child had meaningful contact. It should be noted, however, that children were not regimented by strictly enforced rules and regulations. They learned by doing, but story telling was used by adults to reinforce the child's basic concepts of right and wrong, and good and evil.

As the child grew, he found his life in four different cycles: (1) childhood, ages five to six; (2) youth, six to eighteen; (3) adulthood to forty, (4) old age. This idea is consistent with the cyclical theory which the Indians observed in nature: a seed sprouting, growing, producing, and ultimately dying. But the seeds produced the cycle again. Thus they viewed their own lives in this cyclical pattern.

Within the social structure of the Pawnee before the period of contact with Western civilization, every conceivable aspect of society had been carefully arranged. There was no idleness because, regardless of age, everyone had a function to perform. Individuals within different age brackets had definitely assigned responsibilities and the dignity of the individual was maintained by carrying out these responsibilities.

Student Sheet

Then, when institutionalization or the reservation system was imposed upon the Pawnee, this social structure was severely interrupted, if not destroyed. The development of a reservation school system administered by missionaries took children out of their natural environment and subjected them to Anglo values on the assumption that these were superior to those of the Native Americans. Extreme measures such as severe punishment and separation from parents and relatives were often used to prevent the Pawnee children from following the values and customs of their people.

Civilizing the Pawnee, as the Western culture viewed it, was to be accomplished by making them land-bound farmers in the American mold. The small farm and individual application of labor destroyed the neat, well organized, and efficient divisions of labor that had previously existed. All age groups couldn't farm.

Without the "Great Hunts" there seemed little practical need for the sacred dances which revolved around them and the religious ceremonies attached to them. In the reservation concept farms were scattered, and it was difficult to have communal activities coordinated as effectively as they were before.

The basic structure of family living was altered. The Pawnee could no longer live in their traditional homes but were required to live in "square" houses. Obviously, these weren't designed to accommodate thirty to forty people, whose existence in their previous society was dependent upon specialized functions that allowed the necessary flexibility to maintain the large extended family.

Decision-making among the Pawnee was a democratic function that is to be envied! Everyone's opinion was solicited, and none was regarded as being insignificant. Only through this patient, time-consuming process of collective discussion was any endeavor determined.

The same process employed within the individual lodge was repeated within the clan, band, and tribal structure. No one Indian could speak for the group as a whole until the group as a whole had reached an agreement, and this inability to find one person who could, or would, speak authoritatively for the tribe, instanteously, was a source of great frustration to European Americans in dealing with the Pawnee.

The following table lists the thirteen essential kin terms involved in Pawnee life as well as a number of variations of these terms:

Student Sheet

The Essential Pawnee Kin Terms Except for the Relationships by Marriage

(From Weltfish)

1.	*atira*	my mother
2.	*atias*	my father
3.	*irari*	sibling of the same sex, viz., brother to brother, or sister to sister
4.	*iratsti*	brother, woman speaking
5.	*itaxri*	sister, man speaking (Skidi dialect, *itahi*)
6.	*piira'u*	child
7.	*tiki*	son
8.	*tsuat*	daughter
9.	*tiwat*	nephew or niece, viz., child of a man's sister
10.	*tiwat-ciriks*	uncle, mother's brother, meaning the super-*tiwat*
11.	*atika*	my grandmother
12.	*atipat*	my grandfather
13.	*rak-tiki*	grandchild, viz., son's child.

The parent and grandparent terms are different from the others in that each has three variants. They contain a ROOT and also a possessive pronoun. Thus:

ati-AS	my father	*ati-RA*	my mother
as-AS	your father	*A'as*	your mother
is-AS-ti	his father	*I'A-sti*	his mother
ati-PAT	my grandfather	*ati-KA*	my grandmother
i-PAK-ti	his grandfather	*i-KA-ri*	his grandmother

Normally people did not indicate that a woman was their biological mother as distinct from her sisters, nor the woman that the child was biologically hers within this grouping, but under exceptional circumstances it could be said that a mother was *irata'u*, "my very own," and that a child was *kutatixra'a*, "my very own child."

Student Sheet

The Pawnee women cultivated the gardens and ran and maintained the household. Kin closeness was considered greater in the mother's line than in the father's. While men apparently had political dominance, the political position of the male was hardly comparable to that of the Roman patriarch who had the power of life and death over permanent members of his household. All in all, the family relationships among the Pawnee were highly structured and the close relationship of the people within a given village tended to prevent a violation of the rules governing these relationships.

QUESTIONS TO PONDER:

1. What was the most stable unit of Pawnee life?
2. How did Pawnee children's relationships with their mothers differ from their relationships with their grandmothers?
3. Why did a boy's uncle have a special responsibility to help educate him?
4. How did the reservation system change the pattern of Pawnee living? Was this good or bad?

SECTION V.

THE PAWNEE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Objectives:

1. To have the students develop a definition of the term "Economic System" as it applies to food, clothing, and shelter.
2. To help students understand that the Plains Indians were not just hunters but horticulturalists as well.
3. To impress upon the student the change in the economic structure as a result of the introduction of the horse.
4. Finally, to show how the economic system was severely altered, if not entirely destroyed, by contact with the Westward Movement.

Materials for the Student:

1. A copy of the material from Francis Haines' The Plains Indians, pp. 18-22.
2. A copy of the material from George Hyde's The Pawnee, pp. 267-276.
3. Garland Blaine's tape to reinforce and supplement the reading material of the economic system.
4. Gerald One Father's tape.

Selected Teacher Reference Material:

1. Pre-contact
    a. Francis Haines, The Plains Indian, pp. 18-22.
    b. George B. Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales, pp. 249-259.
    c. George Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. XIV-XVI
2. Post-contact
    a. George B. Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales, pp. 270-282.

b. Nebraska State Historical Society Educational Leaflet No. 1.

c. Gene Weltfish, The Lost Universe, pp. 3-6.

d. Bayard H. Paine, Pioneers, Indians and Buffaloes, pp. 117-34.

e. George Hyde, The Pawnee, pp. 267-276.

f. Robert Bruce, editor, The Fighting Norths and Pawnee Scouts.

g. The Garland Blaine tape.

Procedure:

1. Have the student compile a list of things which deal directly with the economic system. The teacher should help the student try to refine this list to only those things that are really essential.

2. Then ask the students to circle those that they could make, prepare, or create for themselves. Is self-sufficiency an art that has been lost?

3. Have the students try to determine in writing how they feel the horse may have changed the life style of the Native American.

4. Have the students look again at the maps used in the first unit, and try to have them determine why this land may have been valuable to the Anglo Culture.

5. Then play Garland Blaine's tape and have them answer these questions and at the same time maybe change their opinions in regard to some of the answers they have given above.

6. Students are to read the material from The Pawnee by George Hyde and The Plains Indians by Francis Haines, and do the following questions.

   a. What seemed to happen to the Pawnee population from 1872 to 1879? How do you account for this?

   b. Among the Pawnee there is widespread belief that the United States Government may have been deceitful toward them under the conditions of the Table Creek Treaty. Is this belief valid and justified? This deceitfulness--if that is what it was--could it have been the result of the treaty being written in English?

   c. What factors of the Pawnee social order were affected by contact with the Anglo Culture?

   d. According to George Hyde in The Pawnee, how was the United States Government's policy of the 1850s radically different from that of the 1870s? How do you account for this reversal?

   e. Was the land that the Pawnee received in Oklahoma equal in value to their native land in Nebraska?

   f. How did the reservation system destroy the Pawnee social order?

   g. What factors contributed to the unsuccessful cattle farming experiment in Oklahoma?

7. Use that portion of Gerald One Feather's videotape where he expresses his ideas as to how the acquisition and sharing of wealth created leadership. Then have the students answer orally such questions as:

   a. What is capitalism?

   b. Were the Pawnee capitalistic?

   c. What do "giveaways" imply about the acquisition of wealth? About the importance of status within the tribe?

8. Use the chart of the buffalo and its uses, as presented in the Omaha unit, to help the students review the economic dependence of the Plains Indians upon the buffalo.

Student Sheet

Section V. Student Materials:

The Pawnee Economic System

Below you will find some materials about how the Pawnee made a living--before the imposition of U. S. military and governmental control on them and after. As you read these materials, consider how "how the Pawnee made a living" was affected by and affected:

1. their removals from place to place--especially to Oklahoma;
2. their changing world view and religion;
3. their changing family and kinship system;
4. the disruption in their life caused by U. S. intervention in those lives.

Essay 1

The Pawnee Economic System Before White Society "Took Over"*

by Francis Haines

The new environment [in Nebraska to which the Pawnee may have come several hundred years ago] was somewhat drier than their southern home, but the climate was similar enough that the same methods of farming could be used, and the same crops could be raised. Along the streams flowing into the Missouri River they found enough timber to allow the construction of the same type of houses they had used in the south, but it is probable that they soon substituted earth covering for the lodges for the more open matting more suitable for the warmer clime. The winter storms, with blizzards blowing down from Canada, would soon show them the desirability of having more protection against the cold.

At first in the new land, when their numbers were small, they built a few large villages along the banks of the larger streams, but as their numbers grew, and they spread out to the west, they built many smaller villages, spreading on through the uninhabited country until they finally reached the foothills of the Rocky Mountains near Denver. This period of growth took about three centuries.

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*Francis Haines, The Plains Indians (New York: Crowell, 1976), pp. 18-22.

Student Sheet

The Pawnees were essentially horticulturists, cultivating a large number of small garden plots rather than farming large fields. A very good reason for this was that they lacked the tools necessary to break up the heavy prairie sod on the rich grasslands so they concentrated their efforts on the sandy alluvial fans where their hoes, made from the shoulder blades of buffalo and elk, and their digging sticks were adequate equipment.

They raised good crops of corn, squash, beans, and sunflowers. In addition, they could have for the gathering wild turnips, ground beans, wild plums, wild grapes, several kinds of berries, chokecherries, and some nuts. All of their crops and their gatherings of grain, fruit, and vegetables of various kinds supplied at least one-half of their total food needs. The rest of their food was meat that they secured mostly from the buffalo herds, but they also hunted elk, antelope, deer, rabbits, waterfowl, and game birds.

Even in their small villages the Pawnees built large lodges with heavy wooden frames and strong rafters of timber. These they covered with a heavy layer of grass and over it all they spread a thick layer of dirt. Each of these lodges sheltered about forty people and four or five lodges were adequate for the usual small village. In the larger villages there might be ten or fifteen such lodges scattered about. Such a lodge would last about eight to ten years before the timbers weakened with age and began to sag. It furnished a good shelter both against the summer heat and the bitter cold when the arctic blizzards swept in fron the north. The grass layer was useful both in providing the necessary insulation and in keeping the earth from the timbers and so delay their rotting.

When such lodges collapsed from old age it was often more advantageous to build the new ones on some other site where there were trees to supply the timber for building and the wood for the cooking fires. Usually all the timber near the village had become exhausted in the course of ten years and it was simpler and less work to move the people to the new site rather than to transport the large, heavy logs needed for the framework of the new lodges. Of course by the time the old lodge was ready to collapse the village site had accumulated quite a mass of trash and filth, but there is no way of knowing how much such piles were considered as undesirable by the Indians.

Student Sheet

The year's activities of the Pawnees were scheduled around their two chief methods of procuring food--growing corn and hunting buffalo. Each spring plots for the corn planting were dug up, with about an acre of land being allowed for each four persons to be fed. With their primitive tools and lack of fertilizer the Pawnees' yield in bushels per acre was rather low. In early May "when the oak leaf is as large as a squirrel's ear" as the old formula goes, the corn was planted. This always put the corn in the ground when the soil was ready whether the season was early or late that year. The young corn needed some care for about a month after the shoots appeared above the ground. During this period it was weeded, and was protected against the raids of rabbits and gophers. Even the deer wandered in at times to nibble at the new growth if they were not deterred.

In about a month the corn stocks toughened and became less attractive to the animals. Then the villagers turned out with their small packs of camping gear. Unlike the nomadic hunters, they did not need to carry along everything they owned, but took only the necessities for a short stay. They then walked out for two or three days into the buffalo country where they broke up into small bands with about twenty-five people in each, seemingly the optimum number for a hunting band in a country well stocked with large game. Only a few people remained behind in the village. They were the very old, the crippled, and some of the smaller children. Thus the hunting band consisted of able-bodied people who could carry packs for several miles a day.

On this early summer hunt the people liked best to kill the young bulls then in prime condition from feasting on the new grass. The cows at this period were not very good for food. They were poor and worn from their spring calving and their coats were all bedraggled. So when the hunters lay in ambush for the buffalo to go to water, they tried to kill one or two of the young bulls, or perhaps a yearling heifer for the camp meat. One of these animals would supply the whole camp for a day or so. As they camped they waited for a small band of buffalo to graze into the proper place where they could be stampeded over a rimrock, a cutbank, or into a swamp.

In such a drive all the buffalo were killed, old bulls, little calves, poor cows, and the desirable young stock. Even the poor meat was rescued and cut into strips for drying and the poorer skins were processed into rawhide while the better skins had the hair removed and were tanned into leather. Cowhides taken at this time were ideal for tipi covers and for some of the heavier clothing and moccasins. The calf skins were thin and light, well suited for clothing and for small bags.

Often such a drive resulted in the destruction of several hundred animals, their mangled bodies piled high at the foot of the buffalo jump. Then the hunters would invite all the other camps within reach to join in the butchery of the game. Even so, only a small portion of the carcasses could be used. All the rest remained in a great heap, furnishing food for scavengers as it slowly decayed under the summer sun.

After a month or so of hunting the villagers trudged back, heavily laden with dried meat and hides. If they had been very successful they might have to carry their burdens in relays, each person depositing his load at the new campsite, then returning to the old camp for another load. In addition to the human packers, all the dogs had to help carry loads or to drag them on small travois made by lashing together the small poles used to support the skin tipis which were about six feet high. The larger tipis, so closely associated with the Plains Indians of the nineteenth century, did not come into use until horses were available to transport the heavier skin coverings that the large tipis required.

Back at the home villages the Pawnees busied themselves at processing the skins and with harvesting the first corn of the season that by then was in the milk stage. This green corn could be picked early in August and usually was roasted or boiled in the husk. Then the grains were removed and dried in the sun before being stored for winter. Of course the villagers also feasted on the green corn, and in some years of scant crops the hungry people sometimes left very little corn to store for the winter.

The rest of the corn was left to ripen and was harvested about the middle of September. Then it was shucked, dried, shelled, and put into storage pits. The best ears were selected with care and were put aside to supply the seed corn for the next crop. This seed corn was left on the cob.

With the corn crop safely stored away in the underground pits, the whole village again went out to the buffalo herds for the great fall hunt that lasted for several weeks. By mid-October the buffalo were in prime condition and had grown their new winter coats. Their meat was at its best and the hides were just right to be tanned with the hair on for soft, warm robes. A truly successful hunt required two or three small drives, rather than one big slaughter where many of the hides and much of the meat were wasted before they could be processed. After a small drive the animals were left in better condition and could be cared for properly and promptly. Also, with two or three small drives the camp could feast for weeks on the fresh meat.

In addition to the buffalo hunts the Pawnees liked to stage at least one large antelope drive each year. For this the entire tribe went out to the antelope range and under favorable circumstances might surround several hundred of the animals at one time. The encircling ring of humans was large, so the frightened animals might be chased along the perimeter and would not dash directly across the circle where they would be charging headlong at a thin line of people and could easily break through to their freedom.

As the antelopes tired and slowed their pace, the circle was gradually drawn closer until the totally exhausted animals were strewn about in a small area where they could be dispatched with lances or clubs. Even though one kill might total several hundred antelopes, the meat thus procured was much less than that of one successful buffalo drive; for one mature buffalo furnished ten times the amount of meat as was supplied by one antelope. But the antelope was highly prized for its thin, pliable skin which was much better material for many articles of clothing than even the best buffalo hides.

Many elk and some deer were killed throughout the year among the groves and thickets that fringed the watercourses. Their hides too were of great value, for the small antelope hides were insufficient to make dresses for women and hunting shirts for men, each garment requiring the hides of two young elk, preferably two years old. Note that all these hides from young buffalo, antelope, elk, and deer were generally called buckskin by the whites, even though bucks actually furnished only a small fraction of the skins. The finished leather from all of these hides was usually tanned and then smoked, although sometimes skins might be left unsmoked to give a fine white leather.

Student Sheet

This rather detailed description of the activities of the Pawnees is given because all the other semi-nomadic Plains tribes adopted much the same pattern once they became buffalo hunters. This is a strong indication that the presence of buffalo near farming villages tended to produce quite a body of common culture among tribes that had no direct contact with each other.

QUESTIONS TO PONDER:

1. What kind of agriculture did the Pawnee practice?
2. What game did they hunt?
3. How were the early summer and fall buffalo hunts different?
4. How did the Pawnee plant, cultivate, and harvest their corn?

Student Sheet

Essay 2

The Pawnee Economic System During and After Remov l to Oklahoma*

by George Hyde

The scheme for removal of the Pawnee tribe to Indian Territory, which the officials at the Indian Office had decided on in 1873 and had executed in the two following years, was finally approved by Congress on April 10, 1876. This bill, drawn by the Indian Office officials, authorized the expenditure of $300,000 for the removal of the tribe from Nebraska and its settlement on the new reservation in Indian Territory. The men who prepared this legislation took every possible advantage of the helpless position of the Pawnees to try the mad experiment of breaking an Indian tribe suddenly to pieces, placing each family on a 160 acre farm, and forcing the Indians swiftly from the hunter stage into the position of farmers competent to compete on equal terms with white men. These Christian idealists at the Indian Office had already brought the tribe to the verge of ruin. But the officials seemed blind to the truth, and in 1876 they were just as determined as in 1873 to execute their Pawnee plans without the altering of a single feature in the program.

What they had done to the Pawnees was seen by the North brothers when they came to the agency in the summer of 1876 to recruit a company of scouts. The Norths knew the Pawnees better than any official ever could; they had lived with them for years, spoke their language, and knew nearly everyone in the tribe by name. They found nearly all the Pawnees sick, mostly with chills and fever and lung complaints. These Indians who had been industrious and had supported themselves in Nebraska were living in complete idleness, partly forced on them by the impracticable schemes of the Indian Office, partly due to the people having lost heart completely. They were living in tattered and very dirty canvas tents, because the Indian Office idealists wanted model farmhouses and would accept nothing else. The people had little food and evidently had been half-starved ever since coming south. They had no clothing, most of the Indians, young and old, having nothing beyond thin cotton sheets, which they draped about their naked bodies. All their great herd of horses and mules had disappeared, stolen by Indian and white thieves. They had sold or traded all their weapons to obtain a little more food; an involuntary act of disarmament that had delighted the Quaker pacifists who were in charge of the tribe but had completed the heartbreak of this warrior people. There was no school, and the death rate among the Pawnees, particularly the children, was a shocking thing.

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*George Hyde, The Pawnee (Denver: University of Denver Press, 1951), pp. 267-276.

In the printed reports the officials had managed to write around all of the conditions here described and to present a hopeful view of the tribe's condition. Only by going beyond these reports and noting the observations of disinterested men (George Bird Grinnell, John B. Dunbar, and the North brothers) can we glimpse the grim truth; but the Christian planners at the Indian Office failed to suppress one item of evidence. In their own tables of statistics one may find the telltale figures on Pawnee population: 1872, 2,447; 1876, 2,026; 1879, 1,440. Very few of these deaths were from age; they were nearly all caused by sickness, the direct outcome of the model plan to help the tribe by removing it to Indian Territory.

On May 16, 1877, William Burgess was replaced by another Quaker, Charles H. Searing of New York. The Pawnees had now been on the new reservation for a full two years, surely a sufficient period for completing the model plan for settling each family on a farm of its own; yet Searing found two-thirds of the tribe still camped in tattered canvas tipis at the agency. The other third, flying in the face of official opposition, had built themselves comfortable earth lodges, and Burgess had evidently failed to report this fact to the Washington office, where earth lodges were as red rags to a bull. The agent had built ten log houses for chiefs and headmen at the agency; the Skidis, always the most enterprising group, had left the agency and built an earth lodge village for themselves about two miles to the northeast. The Grand Pawnees and Kitkehahkis were encamped on Black Bear Creek near the agency, the Pitahauerats having a camp of their own some three miles toward the southeast.

Land had been set aside for the Grand Pawnees and Kitkehahkis eight or ten miles west of the agency; but nothing would induce them to go there. Agent Burgess had made very few improvements. His own office was a small stone building of good construction, but the rest of the agency buildings were of cottonwood logs with roofs of cottonwood shingles. Very little planting had been done by the Indians thus far. In 1877 the white employees had broken 650 acres in four tracts, one for each Pawnee tribe. This land was to be used by those Indians who decided to live in village communities. The plowed land was not planted. Poverty, sickness, deaths in every family, and the system of free rations, had thoroughly demoralized the tribe. Even the women, always noted as hard workers, did little now; the men spent most of their time gambling for trifling stakes. The idealists at the Indian Office in Washington knew the situation, although they did not dwell on it in their optimistic annual reports, and they had seen to it that Agent Searing should have a whip to wield against any Pawnee who refused to work when ordered to do so. The office had inserted in the Pawnee bill of April 10, 1876, a provision that Pawnees who did not work might be cut off the annuity rolls. This meant that the Pawnee and his family would be left to go naked and to do without many necessaries of life which were included in the annuity issues. But the Pawnees were too disheartened to care whether they went naked or not.

In the later seventies and early eighties the ever-turning wheel of Indian policy had completed another revolution. The Quakers, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and other church bodies which a decade before had joyfully accepted President Grant's proposal that they should nominate members of their own church bodies for appointment as Indian agents, had now burnt their fingers so often that they gladly relinquished this control over the appointment of agents and limited their operations to the making of Indian policy. Holding an annual meeting in Washington for this purpose, these well-meaning dabblers in Indian affairs, like the designers of ladies' bonnets, seemed unhappy if they could not invent new policy models every twelvemonth. In the early seventies they had advanced the theory that the Pawnees would progress rapidly if uprooted from Nebraska soil and removed to Indian Territory, far from the bad influence of white settlers; but now, in the early eighties, they reversed this theory and forced on the government a new policy based on the theory that only by daily contacts with whites could the Indians be inoculated with a desire to progress. Without a blush the Indian Office, which had removed the Pawnees from Nebraska solely to get them away from the proximity of white settlers, now put pressure on the chiefs to induce them to agree that the new Pawnee reservation should be opened to white settlement.

The Christians and idealists had come a long way from their original stand of kindness and forbearance toward their Indian brothers and were openly advocating the employment of force to compel progress. Determined to make the Indians work and work hard, these Christians, who denounced control of the tribes by the army as a brutal proposal, made up their minds to cut off from free government rations any family whose male members failed to work satisfactorily. It was a plan to starve the Indians into progressing; but to cover its nakedness with a gloss of Christian righteousness, the inventors of the project went into the New Testament and brought out a text attributed to Saint Paul: He who will not work shall not eat. They did not find that Saint Paul had said a word to the effect that women and little children should not eat, but simply used the text as a justification for starving entire Indian families.

In 1882 the Pawnee rations were suddenly stopped. Fortunately the tribe had a good corn crop that year; but--being Indians--most of the families invited their friends to feasts and also gave away a large part of their corn and dried vegetables. There was much suffering that winter, and the only assistance obtained from the government was a series of severe lectures from the new agent who told the hungry Indians roughly that he hoped they had now learned their lesson and would husband their surplus food in the future. After eighty additional years of lectures and hardship, there are plenty of Indians today who have not yet learned that simple Christian lesson: Waste not want not.

With all the pressure the agents had brought to bear on the Pawnees, only fifty-five families had been induced to settle on separate farms by 1882. The tribe had now lost all their horses to Indian and white thieves; they had eight mules in the entire tribe, and the farm work was little more than gardening by the ancient hand method, women doing most of the work. Hundreds of thousands of acres of land lying unused were an irresistible temptation to the whites and, forgetting that if the Pawnees were to progress they must use their land, the officials gave in to the demands of white cattlemen and leased huge blocks of the reservation.

True, an attempt had been made to put the Pawnees into cattle growing; but the cattle had been issued to the tribe at the moment when rations were cut off, and nearly all of the eighty stock cattle had been killed and eaten by hungry Indians. In 1883, 150,000 acres of the 283,020 in the reservation were leased for three years to cattlemen at an annual rental of three cents an acre, and the more inert of the Pawnees settled down to live in complete idleness on lease and annuity money, paid once in six months. It was a pittance; but the Pawnees had learned since coming to Indian Territory how to live on almost nothing. One may say that they were too lazy to work or that they were bewildered by new conditions and really could not make a living; but with government rations stopped they did manage to live. There were some families that were doing fairly well; they usually had corn, vegetables, and even meat, and by tribal custom they were expected to share with their poorer neighbors. Such were the results of the well-meant Christian effort to force this tribe to adopt suddenly the white man's way of life.

Those families that had made some progress had much to complain about. The leasing system had filled the reservation with cattle belonging to the whites, and at first the herds got into the Pawnee fields, and the hungry Indians had to watch while the animals devoured their crops. Even after the Indian Office compelled the cattlemen to fence off their range, the situation of the more advanced Indian families was very trying. They had built good frame houses, which they had painted and furnished: quite unlike the log cabins with no furniture that most Indians called homes. These Pawnees had bought with their own money some horses and farm machinery, and the Indian Office reported with pride that the tribe was seventy-five per cent self-supporting; but in 1887 a severe drought wrought such devastation that even the hard-bitten Indian Office officials of the day decided to resume the issuing of free rations and clothing. A period of violently fluctuating economic conditions was thus instituted. In 1888 rations were stopped, presently to be resumed, to be stopped and resumed again.

No one will ever know what sufferings the Pawnees had to endure during this transition period, between 1874 and 1890. In 1883 their agency was combined with the Ponca and Oto agencies, and only a clerk resided among the Pawnees. This man had practically the powers of life and death over the Indians. He could do great harm or great good, according to his nature. In the early eighties Captain Rees Pickering was in charge; after 1885 M. L. McKenzie was clerk for the Pawnees. The Indian police took orders from this clerk; but the Pawnees were surprisingly law-abiding, and the duties of the policemen were almost entirely taken up with pursuing and capturing Pawnee children who had run away from school. The prison system at the Pawnee boarding-school seems to have been thoroughly established by 1883; the children were little less than prisoners, and their parents were generally carefully excluded from the school precincts. In order more effectively to separate the children from their families, the practice of shipping them off to Carlisle and other distant schools had come into vogue, and in 1884 thirty-two Pawnee children were sent into this kind of exile. In the spring of 1887 measles broke out at the Pawnee boarding-school, and to avoid having to care for the sufferers the agent ordered the clerk who was in charge among the Pawnees to "kick the children out." This order was obeyed; and of eighty-five children affected, between thirty and forty died from lack of care. Now and again an affair of this kind threw a lurid light on what was happening among the Pawnees; but as a rule all minor acts of oppression were hidden behind a screen of nicely written official reports. With the old heavy loss from enemy attacks completely removed, the Pawnee population dropped from 2,026 in 1876 to 804 in 1890, and despite the attempts of the officials to make it appear that this loss was unavoidable, the result of hereditary diseases and pulmonary complaints, it was apparent that nearly all the deaths were due to the weakening effects of lack of food, clothing, and proper shelter.

In each of the four Pawnee tribes there were non-progressive groups who insisted on keeping up the old type of village life to which the agents so strongly objected. These people lived in earth lodges; but year after year the number of earth lodges dwindled as new families moved to their own farms and established themselves in log or frame houses. The Pawnee houses were real. Among most of the tribes a house was four log walls and a clay floor, an empty shell without comfort and very unhealthy. The Pawnees finished their houses inside and furnished them comfortably, and Grinnell in 1889 reported that the reservation was dotted with neat farmhouses, barns, and granaries, many of which would have done credit to a New England homestead.

The Pawnees had achieved this success by their own efforts, starting without horses or proper tools, and with the majority of the tribe undernourished and sick. As late as 1887, 950 Pawnees were treated by the agency physician in one year for various forms of fever. The agents by this date were reporting that most of the sickness in the tribe was lung trouble and hereditary. How strange that this taint had never been observed in Nebraska, and that among the Pawnee school children in Indian Territory, who were properly sheltered, clothed, and fed, there was no trace of lung complaints. One agency physician, who did not regard it as one of his duties to shield the Indian Office officials from the blame for removing the northern tribe to the south, reported nearly one thousand cases of fever and one case of consumption. The worst was over by 1885; but fever continued to be the great enemy, and the birth rate was still lagging behind the rate of deaths.

One of the things that had broken the hearts of the Pawnees was the theft of all their horses soon after they came south in 1874, and one of the first things they did after getting on their feet was to begin buying horses and mules. In 1884 they had a few horses and eight mules; in 1886 they had 184 horses and mules, 159 head of cattle, 100 hogs, and many chickens. In 1888 the tribe owned 1,525 horses and mules, 500 cattle, 1,000 hogs, and 3,000 chickens. They had 2,560 acres under cultivation (twice the acreage they had had in Nebraska) and raised 60,000 bushels of corn, besides great quantities of vegetables and some wheat and oats. In this year the ration system was finally abolished. Nearly all the people were now on their own farms, living in comfortable houses in the midst of fields, which they had neatly fenced in.

Some contemporary observers remarked that this advance of the Pawnees demonstrated the wisdom of the plan to remove the tribe to Indian Territory; a curious view, surely. Had the planners expected the loss of nearly half the people in the tribe through sickness as a preliminary step toward prosperity, and had they counted on the theft of all the Pawnee horses and mules as another means for elevating the position of these Indians? It should be obvious that in Nebraska, where the climate suited them and where their horses and other property would have been much safer than in Indian Territory, the Pawness would have done better.

The tribe might have done very well now if it had not been for the insidious leasing system which the Indian Office, with its curious aptitude for defeating its own aims by thoughtless actions, had set up in the

Pawnee reservation. The officials insisted that the Indians must work; but it permitted the leasing of Indian lands, and the moment the lease money began to come in many Pawnees sat down, to live in idleness. They had worked to prevent the starvation of their families, but now they were gentlemen rent collectors, and why should they work? The agent lectured them on the loss of self-respect that would surely overtake any man who did not work honestly, but such talk was alien and repugnant to the Pawnee philosophy of life. They could idle away their time and retain their self-respect very comfortably, and this they proceeded to demonstrate. Only the Indian Office men were unhappy. They could no longer report progress in civilization and an annual increase in acreage planted and crops garnered by Pawnees.

In 1889 the condition of the Pawnees was good, except in the view of those intolerant persons who expected Indians to give up suddenly all of their old customs and become replicas of New England white farmers in a single generation. The people were comfortable, and each six months, when lease money and annuity money was paid at the agency, there was a grand outburst of feasting and gambling. The Pawnees were split into two opposing factions, as most tribes of the day were, and the progressives and non-progressives took opposing sides on any question that was agitating the people, thus producing factional fights that added much happiness to life on the reservation. The Skidis were progressive; two-thirds of them spoke English, dressed like whites, furnished their houses like whites, had buggies, mowing machines, and reapers. But the other three tribes were non-progressive, clinging to the Pawnee language and customs; and among them only the boys and girls who had returned from off-the-reservation schools wore white people's clothing. The Pitahauerats were the least progressive of all. For twenty years the agents had hammered at the authority of the chiefs, reporting that these men were the worst influence in the tribe; yet when a court of Indian offenses was formed in 1889 the agent found that the men who were most respected and looked up to by the Pawnees were the chiefs, and whether he liked it or not he had to select as judges of the court Sun Chief, head-chief of the Grand Pawnees, Eagle Chief, the old Skidi head-chief, and Brave Chief, the head-chief of the Kitkehahkis. This after twenty years of crusading, to break up the tribal organization and free the common Indian from the alleged tyranny of the chiefs! These judges were the very type of men the agents had been denouncing since 1868; they were all non-progressive, none of them spoke English or wore white clothing, and yet they were the men above all others that the Pawnees, progressive and non-progressive, loved and respected. They made excellent judges, their court proving a model in fairness, good sense, and decorum. These judges made their own code of laws for the reservation, framed purely along Pawnee ideas of right and wrong. In their first year they decided twenty-four cases, four estate cases, ten adjustment of debts among Indians, three cases of the burning of Indian property by Indians, four cases of drinking, and three divorces. Of real crime there was none. Some of the pupils returning from eastern schools set up as lawyers, and, as the Pawnees took naturally to litigation, they did well.

Fifteen years after the Pawnees had been torn from their reservation in Nebraska and removed to Indian Territory with the sole object of isolating the people forever from the evil effects of contact with white populations, the Territory of Oklahoma was formed and the whites came up to the very boundary line of the Pawnee reservation. Some came even farther. Within two years of the opening of the new lands the Pawnees had over half of their horses and mules stolen and were suffering much from white depredations on their timber lands. These first troubles were soon righted. In 1893 the Pawnees all became citizens and their surplus lands were opened to settlement, the Indians becoming a part of a civilized community. The good results for the Pawnees that had been predicted by the Indian Office officials failed to materialize. Care had been taken to settle each Indian family in advance on a good farm before the reservation lands were opened to the whites; the lands remaining were then settled on by white families. There still were many settlers who desired land, and a considerable number of the Pawnees, families that had been working their own farms, succumbed to temptation, rented their land to white men, and moved to the "village" (the agency, now the town of Pawnee) to enjoy a life of idleness. They did not realize that idleness sooner or later means poverty; they sold what they had, little by little, and then discovered when too late that the rent money they received from their white tenants was just about enough to keep life in their bodies. Somehow, money did not stick to Pawnee fingers; but as the years passed the town of Pawnee had an ever-growing number of white tenant farmers who had made comfortable sums out of rented Pawnee lands and had now retired to comfortable and well-provided homes in town.

When a Pawnee died his land was sold and the proceeds divided among the heirs, who promptly spent the money. Such windfalls were frequent at first, providing happy periods of plenty for many Indian families; but new heirs had a way of bobbing up after estates had been liquidated, demanding their share; and presently land titles from Pawnee Indians acquired a bad reputation; fifty per cent of such titles were under a cloud, and loan companies refused to touch them. The whites complained bitterly, and the Pawnees found money to live on harder and harder to obtain. In 1901 the whites got up a petition to the government, asking that half of the remaining Pawnee lands should be sold, and complaining of the burden this great tract of non-taxable Indian land imposed on the white community. The government took no action.

The makers of Indian policy in Washington were now showing an ever increasing desire to shift the responsibility for caring for Indians to the local authorities, and when the Pawnee boarding-school was burned down at night in 1904 the children were placed in the public school. The schoolboard presently petitioned the government for some assistance, stating that these Indian children came from tax-free families that contributed nothing to the support of the schools, and that the government should pay something to help out. The Indian Office replied that the public spirited citizens of Pawnee, Oklahoma, should be proud to assist these Indian children in obtaining a free education, and regretted that the United States government could not assist.

In 1917 the Pawnees went to war, fifty-six men, mainly young married men who were legally exempt, entering the service. Eighteen got as far as France; one was killed in action, and one died from the effects of poison gas. In the second World War the Pawnees took their full share, their men fighting in lands that their ancestors had never heard of, in Africa, Italy, France, Germany, and in the islands of the distant South Seas. Today (in 1950) they are again being called into the armed services.

The Pawnees remained in general very poor until 1933, when the Roosevelt administration began pouring out funds of every kind for their assistance. The

Pawnee tribe, moribund for so many years, has been officially revived in a quaint new form, with a constitution and by-laws, and they have a corporate charter and a Pawnee Business Association. What the final result of these experiments may be the future must disclose; but unquestionably the Pawnees since 1933 were better cared for than ever before, and their number has steadily increased.

QUESTIONS TO PONDER:

1. Why had the Pawnee become idle toward the end of their stay in Nebraska?
2. Why was the resettlement of the Pawnee in Oklahoma so difficult?
3. Why did the U. S. Government stop trying to isolate the Pawnee from white settlers?
4. What in the Pawnee culture pattern before 1873 made it so hard for the Pawnee to move to separate farms after 1873?

STUDENT ACTIVITY 1

View the Garland Blaine tape on the economic system of the Pawnee before and after the removal to Oklahoma. As you view it, consider what different things Blaine stresses from the things stressed by Hyde and Haines.

STUDENT ACTIVITY 2

View the Gerald One Feather tape. One Feather, an Ogalala Sioux, is talking about the reconstitution of Sioux cultural life in its old form but in the context of modern technology and in the midst of a sea of European and "Yankee" industrial and political life. If one was led to reconstruct the old culture now, how would one do the following:

A. Relate to the environment?

B. Give people incentives to be economically productive?

C. Reconcile the Pawnee "giveaway" with the "success story" hopes of most people?

D. Organize the family and neighborhood?